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Col Gen Chekov Interviewed on Role as Peoples' Deputy

18010483b Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
30 Mar 89 First Edition p 2

[Interview with Col Gen Chekov, USSR peoples' deputy; deputy USSR minister of defense for construction and troop billeting; by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent Major I. Ivanyuk: "Program 'Housing-2000'—The First Priority"; date and place not given]

[Text]

[Ivanyuk] Nikolay Vasilyevich, what is on your agenda relative to your function as a deputy?

[Chekov] I intend to do my utmost to live up to the trust placed in me.

To get down to specifics, I must say that today first priority is assigned to the social area. One of my major goals is the resolution of associated pressing and serious problems. I believe that special importance attaches to total elimination of the so-called residue principle used to disburse funds and resources to support social culture and consumption and move to the forefront a concern for people who render a difficult service.

We are already allocating to this area more than 30 percent of all capital expenditures, which is somewhat higher than the total amount for the entire country. This sum will increase from year to year to exceed 50 percent in the coming five-year plan.

We are particularly interested in developing the social infrastructure of remote military posts. Last year we erected 28 officers' clubs, 60 medical treatment facilities, 85 washing and laundry facilities, 92 retail stores, 49 kindergartens and nurseries, 25 schools, and dozens of barracks and mess halls.

We have drafted a special program to erect housing to the year 2000. To carry it out, we will be required to increase capital investments by 32 percent in the 13th Five-Year Plan, and by 55 percent in the 14th Five-Year Plan.

[Ivanyuk] Of course, our readers would be interested in receiving more information on this program.

[Chekov] As we all know, the housing program in the Army and Navy is quite acute; whatever successes we have had are less than satisfactory. Servicemen have been waiting for an apartment for years in the Carpathian, Kiev, Baltic, Belorussian, Odessa, and the North Caucasus military districts; and in the Black Sea Fleet, Moscow, Leningrad, and other large cities.

The housing program, which is the result of a great collective effort, has the purpose, starting in the year 2001, of providing every family with their own apartment within a period of several months. Of priority importance is the satisfaction of the housing needs of military personnel, whose service is intimately connected with combat readiness of the Armed Forces. I believe that this can be done in the next four to five years.

To resettle unmarried personnel, of which there are many in the Armed Forces, and to furnish temporary housing for families reporting for duty at a location where housing is not available, we plan to erect by the year 2000 dormitory and other temporary facilities, in an amount totalling about two million square meters. The introduction of housing in this period of time will increase from 3.8 to 5.2 million square meters.

Note that this program includes more than new construction; it takes into account living space vacated by military personnel discharged into the reserve or transferred to a new assignment.

A complication here is the failure of many ispolkoms of local soviets to fully satisfy the government's decree on making the required amount of housing available for servicemen. The deficit presently amounts to more than 10,000 apartments. Local soviets are very slow in using their housing funds to resettle personnel from closed and remote posts—those people who no longer are associated with the military. The number of such families is increasing, not decreasing.

We are contemplating adoption of a procedure whereby we would erect housing for military personnel who formerly served on posts that are being closed, with the use of funding provided by other ministries and departments, in addition to additional capital expenditures covered by the Ministry of Defense.

I would like to say in general that the housing problem is caused to a great extent by insufficient planning for housing; there is no reliable procedure for assignment of housing or effecting close cooperation with local organs of power.

[Ivanyuk] I believe that this gains additional importance due to the forthcoming significant reductions in the Armed Forces. It is the city and oblast soviets of peoples' deputies that determine when officers and warrant officers discharged into the reserve will be provided with housing and employment. KRASNAYA ZVEZDA has already reported that additional measures are to be taken in this regard.

[Chekov] Yes, the decision has been made to utilize the resources of military construction organizations of districts and fleets to erect 100 residential buildings for personnel that will be discharged into the reserve as a result of the Armed Forces reductions. We are faced

already this year with the task of erecting 46 buildings affording 2,666 apartments and obtaining another 1,220 apartments on a participating basis. Action has been taken to insure that this task is carried out.

[Ivanyuk] The planned program is extremely complicated and intensive. How do you propose to attain such a significant growth in amount of construction in the social area?

[Chekov] We have taken into account the country's economic situation and decided to rely heavily on internal resources. In particular, by the 14th Five-Year Plan we are faced with increasing by a third the output of large-panel housing construction on the part of construction industry enterprises proper, many of which will require substantial retooling.

In addition to the above, we must be more forceful in rooting out shortcomings associated with the country's construction complex that have accumulated over a period of decades: dissipation of resources, excessively lengthy construction time, and defective work. In this regard, we are placing a great amount of hope on the new conditions of economic management, since, as we all should know, as of 1 January all construction organizations and enterprises of the Ministry of Defense adopted complete economic accountability and self-financing. Last year we saw 65 percent of UNR's [offices of work supervisors] make the change to the collective contract system and the introduction of new wage rates and salaries for blue collar and white collar workers in half the construction and motor transportation organizations. This year most construction organizations will adopt the collective contract system, and new pay scales will go into effect.

We are reexamining the organizational structure of capital construction. The first phase consists of eliminating small and unprofitable organizations and cutting out unneeded elements in the production control system. Last year alone there was a cut of 3,000 administrative and management positions at military construction sites, with a 20-percent reduction in the central staff.

[Ivanyuk] Is it possible that the resolution of these large-scale and undoubtedly significant tasks may lead to an abandonment of support for projects that are not as prominent, such as DOSAAF facilities?

[Chekov] To answer your question on DOSAAF construction, I can say that for the last three years military builders have erected a large number of facilities, including four automotive and technical schools, seven airfield service and technical zones, three houses of military technical instruction, five apartment buildings and dormitories, three mess halls, and a number of other buildings and structures. Even here there were excessive

construction delays. For example, the Delfin training base and the airfield training complex in the settlement of Volosovo have been in the construction stage since 1975.

I believe that such a situation should no longer be tolerated. To effect major improvement in construction of defense society facilities, we, working in conjunction with the Central Committee of the USSR DOSAAF, are taking steps to reorganize the planning of funding and provide construction projects in a timely manner with drawings and other documentation, equipment, and cable materials. We have placed a number of projects under the supervision of our control point to give them the same attention as the most important facilities of other customers.

Every construction project is important in its own way to the functioning of the Armed Forces. We have formulated a general principle: To exert maximum efforts to fulfill our plan relative to satisfying all the requirements specified in the new projects title list, while avoiding the pursuit of volume for volume sake.

Election Campaign in Military Discussed

18010534 KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL in
Russian No 6, Mar 89 pp 3-7

[Article by Col V. Baranets under the "Remarks by a Publicist" rubric: "The Reality of Our Voting"; first paragraph is KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL introduction]

[Text] Viktor Nikolayevich Baranets graduated from the Journalism Department of the Lvov Higher Military Political School (in 1970) and the Editorial Department of the Military Political Academy imeni V. I. Lenin (in 1978). He worked as a correspondent-organizer and department chief in large-circulation troop, district and group newspapers. Since 1983 he has worked in the central military press. He is a member of the USSR Union of Journalists and a USSR Minister of Defense Prize Laureate. He presently occupies a position as deputy chief editor of KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL and is a member of the editorial board.

It is symbolic that the elections for USSR peoples' deputies are being held in the spring—a time when nature is awakening. Although nature's laws do not govern politics, every voter must feel that even our social life is feeling the true power of the people as it presses ahead with the inevitable momentum of the season.

We must openly admit that we have needed this kind of election for some time. This is because those who came before often caused our unity to be mixed with indifference. And because a stereotype held power in the minds of many people: All the thinking would be done for them—"at the top"; an unworthy candidate would never

be presented. The end result was that the votes would be cast for him—preferably just after daybreak—just drop your ballot into the box. This would happen even though the man was never actually seen (and if he were seen, it would be his mere image on a poster), and a spoken word of his would never be heard. The entire procedure was made to appear as if it were governed by the will of our voters. In essence, it all proceeded according to pre-planned scenarios, which, to the delight of functionaries, displayed high percentages instead of true hopes of people voting for candidates, to constitute the main index of elective democracy. The success of the stagnant administrative system was determined by inertia in thinking and even by indifference on the part of many voters. For this reason, public opinion often had no representation. Is it any surprise that there were elected, along with laborers, kolkhoz workers, scientists, and military personnel, the vast majority of whom exerted self-sacrificing labor, broad political thinking, and skillful defense of the people's will to win the right to the deputy's mandate on the one hand, persons who became saturated with power, careerists who had a deaf ear for peoples' requests, bribe-takers and bureaucrats the likes of the Rashidovs, Churbanovs, Kunayevs, Shchelokovs, Medunovs, and the Adylov, on the other?

Yes, this did occur. Elections often assumed strange forms, with the deputy's mandate being a mandatory way to assume a top-level position, a time when we placed our trust in some candidates beforehand, sight unseen, satisfied with hearsay to learn of their political, professional, and moral qualifications. The coercive command system that crept into the elective process locked up the creative system that was inherent in true sovereignty of the people. When in April of 1985 the party proposed an innovative program called *Perestroyka*, we undertook a self-critical realization of the kind of reconstruction our political system would need. After some time had passed, the 19th All-Union Conference of the CPSU presented us with "general guidelines" for radical political reform of society, with a major component being the holding of elections on a new legal basis. This was to be the embodiment of *perestroyka*'s concepts, and a practical step toward setting up true power of the people.

In Army and Navy collectives, the same as throughout the country, the present election campaign gave a great boost to the social and political activity of people. Military personnel are casting their votes, after realizing that their votes, their opinions, and their will would actually determine who is to represent their interests in the higher organ of people's authority. One experiences difficulty trying to recall when there was such an enthusiastic attitude toward the personal aspects of candidates for deputy; their programs, professional and moral qualities; and their view as to how they propose to use their deputy's mandate in the interests of the voters.

At a great number of voters' meetings it was not positions of candidates, the authority of their military or scientific titles, a list of merits and honors, or silent

orders issued from above stating for whom to vote that determined whom the people would select as their favorite. The very strength of our will dictated the objectivity of the elective process and determined its accuracy. There was nothing left of efforts that had previously been exerted by force of habit from the stagnation time to serve mercenary ends by manipulating the freedom of our elective process. You cannot catch an eagle with a poor snare. The elections have caused our democratic consciousness to "grow up."

In years gone by it was the case for many—if not the majority—of candidates for deputy that the election campaign became a matter of observing a series of formalities, with nomination equivalent to automatic appointment, while the present elections prove to be a strict test. It was only a short time ago that voters would gather and have no election contests with their broad and pointed discussions; under the present conditions, these voters must be won over. By the weight of what has been accomplished for *perestroyka*. By the constructiveness of the pre-election program. By the breadth and realism of thinking. By the strength of arguments presented. By skill required to hear the voices of voters and see realistic ways to resolve pressing state and local problems. For the people reject sweet and deceptive speeches of "harbingers of renewal." The people are casting their votes for work superintendents of revolutionary *perestroyka*.

There was a voters' meeting that lasted several hours. One of the candidates being discussed was Major F. Fedorov, who was secretary of a unit party organization. He was running against reliable and distinguished candidates. The audience produced a deluge of questions. One question was more involved and intricate than another. It was undoubtedly easier for the candidate to take the state exams for admission into officers' school than that which he was being subjected to—also a state exam of sorts—relative to the strength of his pre-election campaign. The people weighed and analyzed everything scrupulously. He won 75 percent of the votes. Due to the fact that Fedor Petrovich does not spare himself in his work. And he is an acutely responsive person, not a "convenient" secretary, with the degree of the demands he places on communists independent of their positions or rank. With his candidate's program for the country's defense policy intimately tied to social and personal interests of voters.

Not all our service candidates passed the strict inspection posed by the elective process. Especially since there were from two to thirty other candidates in some cases. Several dozen candidates for deputy—representatives of the Army and Navy—dropped out of the running; more than 40 candidates removed their names after making a realistic evaluation of the chances of winning the deputy's mandate. There are no "zeros" in a struggle of alternatives. Someone must come out on top. When political worker Major V. Yesikov realized that his program was less constructive than that of his opponent, for example, he removed his name from the list. Political

and moral maturity is also required to concede one's loss with honor, avoid false pride, and look upon one's concession as a lesson in waging an honorable and open struggle, not as a blow to one's personal authority. This maturity was displayed by many of our candidates who have not yet ascended to the exalted position of deputy.

Our military candidates for deputy offer various pre-election programs. The programs reflect specific questions of defense construction on the one hand, and the interests of military collectives and the populace of a particular locality on the other. They include various approaches to resolving problems that concern voters, major problems of interest to the state, and simple everyday problems. The program which the candidates propose amounts to a concentrated expression of wise and creative thought, of analysis of urgent problems of perestroika, of definite ways to renew socialism. One can see a deep-lying regularity in the various pre-election programs offered by the military candidates, and by all others. Common to them all is political reform of the party. This is a platform that has united the working class, kolkhoz laborers, the intelligentsia, Army and Navy servicemen, and social organizations, so that they all can pursue revolutionary perestroika in all areas of our society.

An example of the above was the pre-election program proposed by Admiral V. Ivanov, commander of the twice-decorated Red Banner Baltic Fleet. It affords a broad state-oriented view of improvement of combat readiness, strengthening of personnel discipline, and a constructive approach to resolving social and everyday problems both of the military post and a locality. This helped Vitaliy Pavlovich find supporters among the Baltic Fleet seamen and civilian populace. A large number of voters became convinced that the fleet commander's efforts reach far beyond fighting for perestroika. Admiral V. Ivanov's candidacy for peoples' deputy is supported by more than 140 collectives of ships, military units, industrial organizations, sovkhozes, and schools.

Not authority of position or rank, but the authority that comes from action, from a position of activity, the skill of fighting for perestroika—this is the main criterion for electing to the body of deputies, candidates who represent the Armed Forces. Our votes carry much responsibility. We are well-acquainted with the consequences of voter apathy. This is why we watch candidates' faces closely, pondering their every word and analyzing in detail what they do.

The fact that our editors have been receiving a large amount of letters requesting information on service deputies, on their pre-election campaigns and views of perestroika is another clear sign of absence of unconcern on the part of voters relative to those for whom they wish to vote. We intend to respond to these requests without fail.

Senior Sergeant Yu. Shatrovenko is a cadet at the Voroshilovgrad Higher Military Aviation School for Navigators imeni Donbas Proletariat. He went through the difficult experience of Afghanistan to earn the "Distinguished Combat Service" medal. This has much to say about how the 20-year old lad proved himself in a place where death sought more victims every day. He is undoubtedly wise beyond his years in his opinions and decisive in his actions. Hence his authority. Yuriy is a member of a Komsomol committee. It is the VLKSM that is sponsoring him. Shatrovenko's program includes much that troubles a great number of his fellow servicemen and companions-in-arms in the general struggle. He stands for greater authority for the Komsomol in the eyes of youth. For improving the prestige of military service. For a more important role of the Komsomol in soviets. For abolishing the hated hazing of new recruits. For a greater degree of effectiveness of benefits allotted internationalist soldiers. He has won many supporters by his knowledge of how to accomplish these goals. He has already done much for their resolution.

The elections have demanded that persons presenting the candidates adopt a new and active role. Their previous task was limited to presenting their candidate for deputy at voters' meetings and relating his biography. This is no longer sufficient. The need has arisen for skillful organization of a candidate's pre-election program; knowledgeable presentation of his true merits and potential; thorough familiarity with the situation in the election district and locality; ability to respond to requests, wishes, and moods of voters. This is the kind of approach that enabled the majority of candidates' representatives to win thousands of supporters and claim victory in the pre-election struggle.

The entire pre-election campaign in the Army and Navy has gone beyond being a qualitatively new lesson in acquiring the developing democracy to become a substantial school for performing deep analysis of pressing problems of perestroika in military collectives. The program has set up landmarks which will undoubtedly comprise the core of mandates passed to the persons who are vested with the elevated right to approve the new laws on people's sovereignty and who are obligated to pay close attention to the voice of the serviceman, laborer, kolkhoz worker, teacher, scientist, and student.

The election meetings have shown that servicemen expect that their deputies become involved with: the state approach to questions related directly to combat readiness; strong discipline; greater authority for the Army and Navy; effectiveness of military patriotic and international education; resolution of the housing problem; combatting favoritism in personnel policy; reliable social protection for servicemen; strict observance of social justice principles. What specific concerns are on the mind of our military voter? He is concerned that the present organizational structure of some units does not fully afford high-quality and effective combat training; that maintenance work is turning many combat subunits

into construction and repair units. That the time has come to put an end to the "limitless" workday of officers and lack of organization of the duties required of inspection commissions; cease making assignments "by the numbers"; protect people from persecution for voicing criticism. There is also a lack in culture of discussions. This culture is an important index of the "maturity" of our democracy that grants free passage to socialist pluralism of opinions. Why is it, voters ask with deep concern, that original ideas and suggestions and critical remarks made verbally and in the press that are addressed to leading elements and persons who are slow to respond sometimes give rise to threatening shouts from various upper levels, as in the time of stagnation? Is it a case of someone's wanting to bridle our words of truth?

The mandates handed to the candidates for deputy often contained the demand: Perestroyka has stirred creative thought on the part of the people. Therefore, keep adding to it; see to it that the precious ideas relating to strengthening of renewal are not lost in the sands. An ageless democratic axiom states that a man who is not heard ceases to speak. A man whose suggestions are disregarded stops thinking. The creation of a reliable system of accountability, control and realization of voters' suggestions and denying all administrative levels the opportunity to bury the collective wisdom of people amounts to a lawful requirement to be made of candidates and one that should constitute the basis of their practical activity as a deputy.

The struggle waged by the service candidates was often made difficult by rude outbursts on the part of individual groups of so-called non-formals, who are party to questionable programs. They shouted: "Deprive servicemen of the right to vote!" "Do not trust servicemen!" "Why vote for them? They are here today and gone tomorrow!" "Servicemen do not decide anything!" Yes, in the pre-election struggle there was another lesson for us to learn: In the pure cleansing stream of developing democracy there were some black pieces of tar "intended" to besmirch the military uniform. Someone was counting on that. However, the individual blasphemous slogans were merely a drop in the bucket compared to the sea of support the people offer to those who guard their peace day and night.

Yes, we are quick to admit that not all is well as yet in our military house. There are many pressing problems. But we are not just sitting idly. We know that no one will solve these problems for us. But what ends are pursued by those who speculate in glasnost to create cheap sensations at our expense? For example, a prime example of political thoughtlessness is a photomontage that occupied the entire first page of an issue of the TIKHOOKEANSKIY KOMSOMOLETS, a publication put out by the Maritime Kray Committee of the VLKSM. The picture of the giant fist coming out of the collar of a military jacket and threateningly raised over

the lowered bald head of a young soldier is pure hyperbole. There is a broad hint of a "zone." However, the absence of any signs of the party view of such artistry is a reality, of course. It is the same reality that forces one to think about more than the fact that the hands of some malignant individuals armed with a pen and brush are defiling a respected symbol that has been protecting the Fatherland for ages. Is a rusty wedge not being driven between the Army and the people under the pretense of well-wishing glasnost? Whom does this benefit?

The present election campaign has furnished much food for thought. For example, why have we seen the people exhibit tremendous interest in the progress of the elections, on the one hand, and the well-known "stamp" of indifference indicative of the time of stagnation on the other? Many letters recently received by the editors from readers contain answers to this question. For example, Guards Lt Col M. Kozlov and Reserve Col V. Shkvorov are of the opinion that the most important condition attending election activity of servicemen is purposeful and substantive agitation and propaganda work on the part of commanders, political workers, and party and Komsomol organizations. This generally obvious thought is backed up by research performed by officers of the Center for the Study of Public Opinion of Servicemen at the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy. More than 65 percent of servicemen surveyed in a number of military districts admitted that their interest in the progress of the elections was heightened in the course of ideological and educational activities that took place during the pre-election campaign in military collectives.

However, there also were replies of another kind: "The elections will be held soon, but we still do not know for whom to vote"; "Many servicemen do not have the faintest idea of the new election system"; "What difference does it make for whom I cast my vote - There will be no changes anyway." This all constitutes a serious lesson for tomorrow. Did some candidates not request that they be furnished with a pre-election program or plan? Have "models" of such programs not been created? Have certain candidates not been asked to drop out of the running so as not to hinder the pre-election struggle of "Ivan Ivanovich" himself?

Many elections will be held, of course, before we will be able to completely enjoy the feeling that we have finally shaken off from our election system the web that has existed since the time of stagnation. Nevertheless, the step taken by our democracy in this pre-election period may be considered to be fairly broad. The vast majority of candidates for deputy positions, perhaps the voters themselves, experience for the first time in their lives the feeling, the realization, that the mandate must be won by deed, by authority, that it is not something that is there for the asking, that it cannot be received as one would an invitation to an ordinary gala affair. The mandate is held by the weary hands of the people, whose demands have risen a thousandfold relative to those who are invested with trust.

There is a short letter lying on my desk. I do not know when Private I. Grigoryev had time to write the editors. It is no easy matter to find an hour or so of free time to jot down a few lines to one's parents. The writer's thoughts are very much to his credit. The soldier reflects on politics, the elections, and on his, the people's, rule. He is already concerned about the possibility that deputies may draw away from their constituents, that the needs of the latter may be forgotten. "If someone does forget," writes the soldier, "we will walk up to him, shake him up, and tell him that he is making a mistake. If he refuses to listen, we will elect someone else."

I would like to write the latter suggestion on each mandate in large letters.

We, military voters, cast our votes for the best fighters for perestroika in the Army and Navy, in plants and factories, on kolkhozes, in schools and institutes. All strata of society and all social organizations, in turn, have sponsored Armed Forces representatives seeking the deputy nomination. This is additional outstanding proof of the steadfast ideological unity of the Army and the people.

Each one of us is to cast his vote. Regardless of which deputy we may vote for—be he civilian or military—he has the same calling: a peoples' deputy. There can be no doubt that, for a person, nothing can be more sacred or inspiring than trust invested by the people. This trust is being displayed as the natural will of the people. It is they who have conscientiously made a decision as to who can support a truly people's authority by observing its noble laws. We are casting our votes for those who do not spare themselves in heart and mind for the sake of revolutionary renewal—those who are active supporters of change, those who think and act boldly, responsibly, and on a broad basis, in the interests of the state as a whole.

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Baltic MD Thanked for Aid at 'Azot' Production Accident

18010483a KRSNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
30 Mar 89 First Edition p 1

[Article by KRSNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent Lt Col M. Zimyeminsh: "Sincere Gratitude"]

[Text] Lieutenant General F. Kuzmin, commander of the Baltic Military District, and Lieutenant General O. Zinchenko, military council member and district political directorate chief, have received the following telegram from A. Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee: "The inhabitants of the Lithuanian SSSR, and myself personally, wish to express our sincere gratitude to you and all service personnel that rendered the inestimable aid in the cleanup operations following the accident that occurred at the Azot Production Association. Decisive joint action made it possible to carry out the work at a

rapid pace and prevent even more serious losses. We consider that to be another graphic demonstration of the readiness on the part of district personnel to accomplish all difficult tasks with honor. I wish you success, health, and happiness."

The following should be added to that which has already been reported in the press: The men of the Baltic Military District were quick to arrive at the scene of the accident and go into action. They accomplished a great amount of work in conducting chemical reconnaissance and laying engineer lines of communication. Included among those who displayed courage and skill as they worked with protective equipment for extended periods of time are: unit chemical service chief Captain V. Dontsov; Senior Lieutenants Yu. Tikhanovich, V. Gladkiy, and A. Tsurkan; Lieutenant A. Samusev; Warrant Officer D. Brazaytes; Sergeants S. Popov and K. Kushmuradov; Private First Class R. Makhmudov; Privates S. Kotlyarov and M. Markisevich, and many others.

Specialists have stated that toxic vapors are still restricted to low places and river beds, where they have not been dispersed by winds.

Political Officer's Complaint Leads to Mistreatment, Transfer

18010548 Moscow KRSNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
2 Apr 89 First Edition p 2

[Article by Lt Col N. Fedoseyev, KRSNAYA ZVEZDA Siberian Military District correspondent: "The Deputy Political Officer of a Military Construction Company 'Stirred Up Trouble.' Why?"]

[Text] Once at a gathering of military construction unit political workers, I said that personnel were poorly fed in our unit. And I went on to say that this is the northern region and this did not adversely affect military builders' allowance standards in any way.

Several days later, Lt Col N. Stepanov, UNR [Office of the Work Supervisor] chief, arrived at the company and he gave me to understand that I should not "stir up trouble." The conversation was unpleasant. From it I understood that I would see neither the apartment which they promised me when I got the assignment, nor a place in the nursery for my child.

That is exactly what happened.

And afterwards, relations with Capt I. Ryabov, head of the section, became quite strained....

Lt O. Maznev Deputy Commander for Political Affairs of a Military Construction Company.

I already could not find Lt Maznev in the company. He had departed for another unit shortly before my arrival. I asked about him in the political section of the aforementioned unit. I heard: He is not afraid of work, goes after any cause with vigor, and is an honest and direct man. He keenly perceives injustice.

With Maznev's arrival, added Company Commander Capt V. Chernov, political education work with personnel became noticeably animated. This young officer did not screen himself off from the soldiers, he examined their needs, and he attempted to help those whose service careers were not going well.

Even his fellow servicemen had kind words to say about the young political worker. The general opinion was as follows: The deputy political officer was suited for the position. It seemed that Lt Maznev would keep on serving in the company, his prestige would be strengthened by his energetic activity, and he would gain experience and professional maturity. Judging by everything, he depended on that, too. But anyway, they transferred him to another company. Why, for what reason?

I talked with Lt Col N. Stepanov on this subject. He thinks that Capt Ryabov is not at fault here. They allegedly transferred Maznev for two reasons. The first: In order to strengthen a company, which was, in his words, on the verge of disintegration, with a good political worker. And the second: In order to protect Maznev from rumors which allegedly arose in the company and in a neighboring unit. However, the UNR chief could not provide any specific facts which confirmed such fears. Was it not therefore when Lt Maznev demanded an investigation of these fantasies and rumors that they did not want to hear his voice?

In my opinion, the first reason is groundless. The young political worker had hardly gotten on his own two feet in independent work, had only gotten a feeling for the work, and had come into the unit and won peoples' confidence. And suddenly a transfer, and yet to the most "difficult" subunit.

However, the essence of the conflict was not even in that. In Lt Maznev's opinion, he was transferred because of Section Chief Capt Ryabov. Tense relations between the officers took shape practically from the first day of joint work. For what reason? Maznev did not at all want to agree that it was due to fulfillment of the plan, his subordinates—military builders—had to constantly waive their rights to rest, leisure, and political training. That his work as a political worker depended ever more greatly on chance factors. Including on the mood of the section chief. And Maznev thought that a day off should be a day off. Political instruction classes, both planned mass sports and cultural activities, must take place without fail. It could not be that people did not know anything besides construction work. Ryabov was just as convinced that there was only the plan at any price.

Moreover, Ryabov clearly enjoyed Lt Col Stepanov's favor. Everyone saw that the UNR chief directly protected him both from criticism and from just claims against his work style which officers frequently expressed to the section head. Somehow a sharp conflict of a practical nature arose between the section head and the company commander. Both turned out to be wrong. They were both equally at fault: They gave in too much to emotions. The UNR chief had to penalize both of them. But how? Company Commander Capt V. Chernov was warned about not being fully in compliance with regulations and Capt Ryabov was given... a mild reprimand.

There is one more example: Chernov criticized Ryabov at a party meeting for arrogance, being out of touch with people, and for constantly striving to personally give orders not only in production, but also within the company. And he added: This all happens because Lt Col Stepanov is too favorably disposed toward Ryabov.

Immediately after the meeting, Chernov was called in to the UNR chief's office and was dressed down in a severe tone for his speech before the communists and was even threatened with being transferred into the reserve before his term was up.

During our conversation, I asked Lt Col Stepanov: Why does he so recklessly defend Ryabov? Really there is much in his conduct that does not fit within the bounds of his assigned duties.

"But then, he is a good specialist," answered Nikolay Pavlovich, "He is a skilled production organizer. We need such people in the directorate: He provides a plan."

That is why the UNR chief uses him fairly often as an example and encourages him at every convenient opportunity.

It is obvious that all of this gave birth to a sense of exclusiveness in Ryabov. And he, feeling powerful support from the chief, began in essence to exceed his authority and give orders to the commander and his deputy for political affairs and to replace them.

I met and talked with Capt Ryabov. Honestly speaking, I somehow could not believe that this reserved, calm, and prepossessing officer could stormily clash with anyone. Yes, he also had good memories of Maznev: "I had a normal relationship with him."

It is true that here Capt Ryabov added: "I do not know, what did he not like? Here he wrote [a letter] to the editor that they built a bath-house with a sauna and is this really bad?"

They actually built such a bath-house. We only need welcome such initiative but for some reason we do not want to. Actually, the bath-house was erected, not for

company personnel but, for a narrow circle of individuals—Ryabov's friends, acquaintances, and people he "needs." It is fitted out with good quality decorations. It is surrounded by a high fence. Military construction workers do not have access to it. Ryabov has the keys to the sauna.

When Lt Maznev informed the political section about this, an order came from there: Transfer the bath-house to the company. But Ryabov did not hurry to carry out the order since the bath-house was allegedly not designed for such [a large] number of people. And no one knows what to do with it now. One thing is clear: Now it cannot still only be for the chosen [few].

Yet another secret facility, which passions are boiling around, was built under the direct leadership of Capt Ryabov. It was built on the bank of a river channel a long way from the city. And it is called a relaxation base which was allegedly built for construction and structural workers and employees. In fact, few of the workers and employees relaxed there.

I asked Lt Col Stepanov: Was it so necessary to expend assets on the construction of these facilities? Would it not be better to use them for urgent company needs, let us say, on repair of the soldier's mess which is in deplorable condition? Alas, the UNR chief did not agree with that point of view.

While saying good-by to Lt Oleg Maznev, I asked him how he is getting along in his new assignment.

"You know," he admitted, "It was hard the first few days, I literally became disheartened. Not because this company is so 'difficult' and because there is a lot of work. The hurt simply would not give me peace. Now it is nothing, I have cooled down and I have become involved in work. I have the first results. But nevertheless I still miss my first company... I will perhaps forget those who I started my officer biography with, who were alongside at the very beginning of the journey..."

It is good that Lt Maznev's spirit is not broken, that he has turned out to be an optimist, that he knew how to overcome difficulties that were his lot [in life] and is successfully continuing a difficult officer career. But unfortunately, young officers, who run into similar or even less complicated difficulties of life, frequently retreat. They are easily and quickly disappointed in their chosen paths... Only recently, quite a few lieutenants in this military district's military construction units have submitted reports with requests for transfer to the reserve.

Much happens for the first time in the life of a young officer, especially a lieutenant. And almost simultaneously. Here are also the first steps of independent service and the first clashes with the problems of life, a lack of housing, and family difficulties. But personal

experience—both professional and simple life experience—has still not been acquired. The position of commanders, political workers, and the officer community is particularly important here. At times, young officers simply do not have enough of the most elementary [thing]—human collaboration and support from senior comrades. Do we always remember this?

And yet, perhaps, the main thing what we would like to draw from this story. At times they say that young officers are "sort of obstinate," "they demand something," and grow cold toward their duty... Is it not because they cannot reconcile their heightened understanding of the officer assignment with those negative things that they meet on their paths? Clearing these obstructions should be a high priority issue with profound social consequences.

Bureaucratic Indifference to Plight of Afghan Vets Continues

18010553 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA
INDUSTRIYA in Russian 7 Apr 89 p 3

[Article by TASS Correspondent I. Grebenyuk: "And Now They Are Storming the Offices"]

[Text] "We do not believe you!"

This sentence, bitterly hurled from the hall and directed at the honorable presidium at a gathering of reserve servicemen of Uzbekistan, had the impact of exploded bombs. The young men, who underwent trial by fire in Afghanistan, approached the free microphone one after another and spoke about callousness toward the memory of fallen friends, and to invalids, and the wives and mothers of the dead. And when, from the loftiness of the presidium, they attempted to convince the Afghan vets that the Komsomol and local authorities unceasingly care about them, the young men began leaving the hall with clenched fists and clenched teeth.

What do these young men want? That those who died in Afghanistan are not consigned to oblivion. They want those of us, who have not been in combat, to be kind to invalids, the families of the dead, and to be more considerate to those who returned from the war. Who objects to this? In words, everyone is "for" it. But, unfortunately, in actual fact, things turn out differently.

It appears that the municipal young reserve servicemen's soviet in Tashkent is doing things that other agencies are tasked to do. Many of its members work in shifts so that there will be more free time. They receive a miserly wage but this is not the main thing for them. They spend their leave time "knocking loose" the things which invalids and the families of the dead are entitled to by law.

One of them is Igor Ishchenko, a 29-year-old commissar of the young reserve servicemen's soviet. An Uzbek film crew shot a documentary about him in the film "Expectation." He was wounded several times. He returned from Afghanistan in 1983. He works nights and all of his free time is taken up at the soviet.

Igor talks about how many years the Afghan vets have been fighting to immortalize the names of fallen Tashkent residents. They appealed to the ispolkom's place-name commissions and were motivated by the refusal of those who said that streets and schools could only be named after Heroes of the Soviet Union and local natives. Afterwards, the commissions demanded an endless stream of references, information, evidence, and school petitions which subsequently mysteriously disappeared in the ispolkoms.

"Our boys lost their lives carrying out their duty," says Igor. "Is it possible that we the living cannot really do something for them, although it is so little, so that they are not forgotten by the people?"

They succeeded in doing something without offending anyone. One Tashkent school is named after Junior Sergeant Tulkun Dzhalalov. A decision is being made about naming the Tashkent thoroughfare Chevar after Sayidulla Sayidaminov. How much energy and patience did it cost these young men? In 1986, residents of the neighborhood [makhallya] where Sayidulla grew up petitioned the ispolkom to name a street after him. They met half-way in the ispolkom and placed the question before the municipal authorities. And good news arrived on the eve of the November holidays since a decision had been made on 7 November and a meeting took place with all neighborhood residents gathered. Many warm words were spoken about Sayidulla. He was an honest young man and he fought with honor. He was posthumously awarded the Order of the Red Star. A tablet with his name on it was solemnly raised but raykom members arrived several days later to take it down. The district Komсомol and neighborhood residents stood chest to chest and would not give it [to them]. And the very ispolkom members were also beside themselves. How can you explain here the misunderstanding which occurred and no decision of any sort was made.

And what will you say here if in several years a proposal comes in to name the nameless Tashkent Medical Institute No 2 after deceased Medical Service Lieutenant E. Begishev... There is an Istikbol street in Tashkent. Adkham Salidzhanov lived here. He grew up on this street and left from here for Afghanistan. He was the first of the neighborhood boys to die. Neighborhood residents decided to name their street after him. The ispolkom supported them but afterwards forgot about the promise.

The bungling and complacency of many officials is simply astounding. For seven years they have not been able to install a telephone for the family of the deceased A. Yakhin. A. Tulyaganov's parents and others have

been waiting their turn for six years. For two years the mother of deceased Geyorgis Kariyanida has not been able to place a black marble monument at her son's grave. The Afghan vets appealed to the Voenkomat [military commissariat] and the ispolkom, but everything remains as before. The leaders of the civil service administration under the Tashkent municipal ispolkom were cynically declaring: "Today you, and tomorrow everyone else will ask. We will make this monument so that you yourselves will refuse it." The issue was resolved only when the young men forced a meeting with the gorispolkom chairman. But the red tape bureaucrats still had the last word—the monument was made out of stone other than marble.

In order to use the benefits of public utilities, family members of the deceased are forced to haunt the threshold of the social security department every month with death certificates proving that their sons have died. And why, we ask, are invalids with amputated extremities forced to annually undergo medical examinations since their severe injuries really are irreversible?

Thousands of young men returned home invalids. One of them, Khabibulla Zakhidov from Margilan, was blown up by a mine in Afghanistan. He returned alive but without legs. He has had to survive things here that are no less than Afghanistan. They said that he... blew himself up, among other things, so that he could return home. Kind people found him, supported him, and would not let the young man despair. Now everything has turned out all right for him and he has a wife and a child. They took him into a cooperative, trained him, and he makes such shoes—they are a lovely sight.

Abdovakhob Abdurakhmanov from Akkurganskiy Rayon of Tashkent Oblast came to see Igor recently. Each year on the eve of Soviet Army Day he arrives in Tashkent and goes to the hospital, to the ward where he lay with a serious wound. His heart stopped six times during the operation and the doctors barely brought the young man through. He was discharged with a permanent disability and was assigned to the first group. He asked for a vehicle which as a first group invalid he was entitled to free of charge. The Akkurganskiy Rayon social security office refused his request. And, in order to legitimize the refusal, they re-tested him and assigned him to the second group.

Abdovakhob came to Igor for help. Together they went to the Minsobes [Social Security Administration]. They also placed Abdovakhob's disability in doubt. Moreover, they told him: "What kind of an invalid are you, you need to work on a construction job..."

Now Abdovakhob is a republic-level pensioner. But how many among the Afghan vets who have despaired are hanging themselves or are slitting their wrists?...

But why, why must the invalids struggle to get ordinary wheelchairs and why must these boys struggle to get their own prostheses and not the ispolkom departments of labor? Is it their business to haunt the ispolkom thresholds with requests that stairways be equipped with ramps for invalids' wheelchairs, that they not be given apartments on the fifth floor but on the first, and that they be concerned about invalid job placement?

This year the Komsomol Central Committee promised to purchase, with hard currency, imported equipment for two orthopedic workshops for the republic. Of course, this is good but, can this solve the problem if thousands of young men have returned from Afghanistan invalids?

The housing issue is moving slowly and the young men are not making much headway in the ispolkoms, but nevertheless, they are moving [to meet] half-way. More than 500 people are on the apartment list in Tashkent. Now new homes are being given to those who got on the list four years ago.

The Samarkand Komsomol obkom has become the initiator of a good beginning for the Afghan vets. An interest-free loan of up to 20,000 rubles is authorized for construction of individual homes in a rural location for former servicemen. Houses for Afghan vets are being built in Samarkand for 12,000 rubles. The remaining portion of the loan is for acquisition of household effects for a young family. Housing will be built in other oblasts of the republic based on the Samarkand residents' experience. Residents of Andizhan have thought of constructing a neighborhood for soldier-internationalists.

Now, finally, a rethinking of the essence of the events in Afghanistan is taking place. But, be that as it may, our servicemen did not complain and carried out their duty with honor in a war which lasted twice as long as the Great Patriotic War. Are we, who awaited their return for so long, really not able to treat them with warmth, respect, and kindness?

Readers' Opinions on Problem of Dedovshchina

Commanders Not at Fault

18010612 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
7 Apr 89 First Edition p 2

[Letter by Lt Col V. Kozoriz, battalion commander in the Far East Military District: "Let the Guilty Answer"]

[Text] We are still now receiving reactions to the article "Dignity" which was published in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA on 3 December of last year and concerned the very acute problem of treatment which violates Army and Navy regulations. Several sets of responses were published. Today we direct our readers' attention to two letters defending different views on the questions posed in the article.

I have been serving in command positions in the Army for nearly 20 years and, naturally, I know about "dedovshchina" (hazing of new conscripts) through personal experience. Thus, I would like to relate this experience to some people who are attempting to advise us on how to struggle with this evil. I specifically have in mind the letter of Ye. Sadov from Perm Oblast published in the set of responses to the article "Dignity" (KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, January 26, 1989).

Unfortunately, many share the position of this letter's author. Recently, for example, I conducted a reserve officers class. The students began to discuss treatment which violates Army regulations. Agreeing with Ye. Sadov who calls "for mercilessly punishing subunit officers for 'dedovshchina'," many of them asserted that this may be the only way to eliminate this evil.

Suddenly the company first sergeant entered the classroom. He reported that Private M., the company orderly, categorically refused to clean his room. Those sitting in the classroom were quite surprised at what they heard. They asked to see the soldier. And then a well-groomed, stout young man appeared before us whom officers have been quite frequently forced to show how to wash floors and perform other "woman's" work in his two month military career... Such a graphic lesson turned out to be sufficient to moderate the ardor of certain proponents of strict measures regarding officers.

Of course, the commander is primarily responsible for the state of affairs in the subunit. However, turning it into a "shoot the messenger" situation each time a commander reports that a subordinate has violated the norms of regulations on treatment [of servicemen] only means interference with strengthening observance of regulations. And we really can do this another way. For example, in the battalion where Maj V. Moryakov was deputy commander for political affairs at the time, they accepted the following as a rule: The commander, including a lower-echelon commander, should not punish subordinates for misdemeanors if, of course, they themselves were not responsible for them. And people stopped being afraid of objective reports about a situation. For a time the curve of violations went up a bit since they were not hidden. Afterwards, discipline began to steadily improve.

Or let us take this episode. Our new unit commander arrived at his first muster and ordered all who had violated discipline in recent days to be taken out of formation. Subunit commanders, knowing from experience how fulfilling such orders could turn things up-side down for themselves, held their tongues. The story was repeated the next day... Only after the commander assured the officers that he did not intend to punish them for their subordinates' misdemeanors did things move off dead center.

In a word, experience shows: Observance of regulations is more energetically strengthened in places where officers are working and are unconcerned about the consequences of accounting for incidents which are brought to light. As for our unit, we would, of course, achieve more if our commander's superiors would follow his example. But recently, my deputy for political affairs and I, having brought a gross violation of discipline to light, reported it to higher authority. And do you know what the reaction was? Having received the report, the [upper-echelon] commander hurriedly... tore up documents transferring me to a higher-echelon position. He did not consider it obligatory to report this violation farther up the chain of command. As a result, the real guilty party in this incident remained unpunished. And he, who punished me, does not even know that the violator was not even in my subunit.

No, until that time when the regulation becomes firmly established and the person who commits the infraction is primarily responsible, noticeable progress in the struggle with "dedovshchina" will not occur. These "old men" truly realize what they are doing and understand the illegality of their actions. And officers are endlessly reiterating the inadmissibility of violating norms of regulations on treatment of servicemen. Thus, why is it that, with people who ignore the law and regulations, responsibility is to a significant degree transferred onto the shoulders of those who call them to order?

I did not succeed in writing down these remarks before the staff meeting. A surprise was waiting there—in accordance with a new decision of a higher-echelon commander, a unit commander, whose subordinate committed a gross violation of discipline, must be recommended for discharge from the Armed Forces. And this order will be carried out by the personnel agencies. But just what good will this do? I was once again made aware that a commander's fate depends on the whims of violators. They had hardly brought this order to our notice when grumbling began among the officers: "Why should we so honestly report... It is better to hide everything... You will be better off..."

Is it not time to put an end to this absurdity? And, despite the desires of Ye. Sadov and others like him, let us follow the suggestion contained in the article "Dignity" "to not allow an officer's punishment before a prosecutor has been provided with a cause and effect relationship between the officer's activities and an incident or crime."

Commanders' Negligence and Dedovshchina

18010612 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
7 Apr 89 First Edition p 2

[Letter by Col Yu. Kudinov, deputy chief of the General Staff directorate of the USSR Armed Forces: All Troubles—Due to Negligent [Commanders]]

[Text] In the article "Dignity," the author correctly revealed the causes and conditions which give rise to treatment which violates Army and Navy regulations.

The mechanism for concealment of violations of the law in military units is convincingly shown in a specific example. Undoubtedly, discussions about young soldiers' legal opportunities will play a positive role in the struggle with so-called "dedovshchina."

However, I cannot completely agree with the author's opinion about the existing system of evaluating military discipline in military units and officers' responsibilities for crimes committed by their subordinates.

The method of evaluating discipline in the troops is determined by the appropriate documents where, along with taking into account the quantitative indicators, other criteria must also be taken into account which characterize discipline, such as the level of combat and mobilization readiness, the state of combat and political training, the quality of alert duty conducted (combat duty), fulfillment by personnel of general military regulations requirements, observance of safety measures, the moral atmosphere in military units, the state of personnel living conditions, and also the objectivity and completeness of record keeping of violations of the law. Besides, the senior commander, while evaluating discipline in units, must delve into the causes of crimes and deeds committed, and the role and place of command and political staff personnel in their prevention.

It is another matter that individual commanders and chiefs, due to their negligence or inability, do not try to thoroughly scrutinize the state of affairs in military units, but follow the much simpler and easier path of analyzing only the quantitative parameters of servicemen's violations of the law and disciplinary misdemeanors and, on that basis, make the appropriate conclusions.

The suggestion to take into account violations of the law by the number of violators and not the crime they committed is not new. Yes, it will improve the statistics but it will inflict serious damage on work for exposure and timely suppression of criminal activities. Really the damage inflicted on the State, troop combat readiness, servicemen, and citizens depends on the number of crimes, their seriousness, and not only on the number of participants in the crime. Let us take the example of this same "dedovshchina." At the present time, the prosecutor is practically taking as a separate crime each episode of a beating of co-workers committed at a different time. And this forces commanders and chiefs to expose such crimes in a timely manner, sharply react to each case, and not allow its repetition.

It is also impossible to agree with the suggestion about making officials answerable only after a prosecutor's presentation. Disciplinary punishments, as a rule, are taken against officers for dereliction of duty, and not for crimes and incidents committed by their subordinates. In these cases, senior commanders are themselves capable of sorting out the causes which have given rise to violations of the law and shortcomings in organizational and educational work. They are obligated to do this

constantly, manifesting high exactingness toward their subordinate commanders and chiefs, and not only after "a clap of thunder." The main task of this work is prevention of violations of the law.

The article as a whole is useful and, judging by readers' responses, is playing a positive role in the struggle with treatment which violates Army and Navy regulations.

And, in conclusion, I would like to say, in connection with the judicial and legal reform being conducted in the nation, that a number of essential changes are also being introduced in the Law on Criminal Responsibility for Military Crimes, where, of course, suggestions for each serviceman's legal protection coming from the troops and citizens will be taken into account.

GlavPU Examines Political Officer Certification in Light of Cuts

18010615a Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
8 Apr 89 First Edition p 3

[Report under the rubric "In the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy": "Improve the Work Performed With the Cadres"]

[Text] The Bureau of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy discussed the certification of political officers in the Transbaykal Military District in accordance with contemporary requirements. Maj Gen I. Rymorov presented a report.

It was noted at the session that the Political Directorate of the Transbaykal Military District, guided by decisions coming out of the 19th All-Union party conference and the January 1987 Plenum of the CPSU CC and instructions from the USSR Minister of Defense and the chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy, is considering the specific nature of the work being performed in the situation of the reduction in the Armed Forces. District political organs are discussing in a focused and public manner the conformity of political officers to their positions and their ability to perform their service duties successfully, and are outlining the prospects for each officer and general.

The command and political staff is receiving clarification of its role and responsibility in the matter of improving the work performed with the military cadres. The political organs and party organizations are attempting to evaluate from a standpoint of principle the political, moral and professional qualities of the political officers, their ability to spot new developments and trends in the life of the multinational military collectives, their personal discipline and intolerance of deficiencies.

In the certification of the officers the political directorate attaches great importance to matters of democratization and glasnost and the observance of social justice. Where the certification commissions take the opinions of party

and Komsomol organizations into account for deciding the fate of an officer, there is no possibility of subjectiveness or a formal and superficial approach, the officer collective is united and a climate of mutual demandingness, respect and comradely mutual assistance is established.

It was also pointed out at the session, however, that the district political directorate has not fully succeeded in focusing the political organs, party committees and bureaus and the command and political staff on working vigorously on the certification of officers. This work lags considerably in the district units and formations in which changes are being made in the organization and establishment.

The district political directorate is not yet doing enough to increase the organizational efforts. The sections for propaganda and agitation and for party organizational work are not taking an adequately active role, which is affecting the results, the quality and effectiveness of the measures being implemented.

Nor does the party aktiv always find its place in the individual work performed with the officers. The talks with those being certified are frequently conducted in haste. They are not receiving specific assistance with the elimination of deficiencies. The influence of political and personnel agencies on the preparation of reserve political personnel has been reduced markedly. Inadequate attention is given to the young officers.

The Bureau of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy has instructed the political directorates of branches of the Armed Forces, districts, groups of forces and fleets, and the political organs under central jurisdiction to strictly observe the Leninist principles governing the selection and placement of cadres. They are to considerably improve the individual work performed with each officer, general and admiral and motivate them to improve their personal professional training, become stronger ideologically and perform their service duties well.

Practical steps should be outlined in each political organ for fundamentally restructuring the work performed with the cadres in light of the present qualitative demands made of the Armed Forces. In July of this year all political organs are to sum up the results of the first stage in the certification of the officer cadres and define the tasks for the second.

It has been suggested that greater promptness and efficiency be demonstrated in resolving questions pertaining to the placement of officers who are participating vigorously in the restructuring but are being released as a result of the cut in positions. The practice of bringing workers from the forces into the central apparatus, the directorate agencies and political organs at all levels needs to be continued. Particular attention should be

given to the selection of young officers with good political and moral qualities and performance, who are capable of successfully influencing the state of affairs in the situation of the restructuring in the Armed Forces. They are to receive practical assistance in shaping up in their new positions.

There should be complete objectivity in the certification of the officer cadres, and subjectiveness and the formal and superficial handling of the fates of people should not be permitted. It is important to see that party and Komsomol organizations take a real and large part in the evaluation of the officers' political and moral qualities and performance, their weak and strong points.

Each certification should reveal how the officer is restructuring his work style in his assigned area of the work and reflect the productiveness of his efforts to eliminate "the old ways" and his ability to maintain regulation order in the multinational collectives. It must contain an assessment of such moral qualities as decency, honor, industry and treatment of service comrades and subordinates.

It is recommended that political and personnel agencies at all levels give attention to those officers certified for discharge for service unsuitability or because of personnel cuts. The permanent certification commissions and the entire officer community should be involved in the individual work performed with them. They need to work persistently to enhance the role of the general officers' assemblies, making them schools for the development of honor, dignity and pride of profession.

Full advantage must be taken of the certification for increasing demandingness and accountability from the lead cadres for their service performance and personal example.

The political organs and party organizations should increase their influence on the work performed with the cadres. They should outline and take additional steps to increase the responsibility of commanders and OICs for objectivity and principle in the evaluation of those being certified. The political organs need to hear reports from the deputy unit commanders for political affairs and secretaries of party committees and bureaus on their work with the political staff and all of the officers in the units during the certification period and to take specific steps to improve it.

It is important to adopt the best experience in working with the officer cadres acquired by the military councils, political and personnel agencies of the branches of the Armed Forces, the districts, fleets and groups of forces. It should be persistently publicized and made available to the command and political cadres of the Armed Forces and to the entire army and navy community.

The certification underway is designed to significantly improve the work performed with the officer cadres and to enhance their personal contribution to the restructuring underway in the Armed Forces of the USSR.

Possible Benefits of Reduction in Force

18010615b Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 24 Mar 89 p 1

[Article by A. Nizhegorodtsev under the rubric "Fact and Commentary": "Farewell to Arms!"]

[Text] The press recently published an ukase of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet on a reduction of the Armed Forces of the USSR and defense outlays for 1989-1990. According to the ukase the overall numerical strength of the Armed Forces of the USSR is to be reduced by 500,000 servicemen.

The number of conventional weapons is also being reduced substantially.

And so, we are reducing our Armed Forces. Not by a regiment and not by a division, but by half a million men. The reduction of Soviet military forces in other European countries—Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and the GDR—is particularly convincing proof of our nation's peace-loving intentions. The numerical strength of the armies of our allies, the Warsaw Pact nations, is being reduced simultaneously. The defensive nature of Soviet military doctrine, backed up by specific actions, is showing its real outline today. The main thing is that people are now beginning to trust us. One would hope that the USSR's recent peace initiatives will not be ignored in the West and will finally bring a specific response on the part of the NATO nations.

Of what direct benefit is the reduction to us, the Soviet people? First of all, the cut in defense allocations will free up considerable funds, which will go into the national economy, into its needy sectors. We shall receive an additional 500,000 workers, male workers, who are in such short supply in many places today. Finally, we are beginning to "reforge swords into plowshares," and yesterday's combat equipment will become peaceful tools of labor and creativity.

The axiom "If you want peace, prepare for war." has been known since the times of Ancient Rome. The entire history of mankind's military confrontation has probably occurred under the stamp of this saying. A position of strength was considered to be the only acceptable position in such dialogues. If you are strong, you are right. If you are armed to the teeth, a neighbor will not dare to go against you. They saw no other way of maintaining peace. Symbolically, a second part of the axiom—"parabellum"—has even become the name of a weapon system. "Parabellum" is being secured in the holster more and more reliably today. The belt still sags under this holster, to be sure. But there are more and more of those

"who want peace." This movement is gaining strength by the year. That strength which will sooner or later remove the holster from the belt of the world once and for all.

Editorial: Leninism on Structure of Armed Forces
18010632a Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
21 Apr 89 First Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Lenin in Our Life"]

[Text] Vladimir Ilich Lenin was born 119 years ago.

The 20th century became the century of Lenin.

In October 1917 he hoisted the banner of socialist revolution and was its inspirer and organizer. And today, with the century coming to a close and in the course of revolutionary perestroika which has unfolded in the country, we sensed, perhaps as never before, a need to turn to Lenin's teaching and to implement the genuine principles of socialism he developed.

The supreme Marxist of the cause, Lenin was capable of fearless maneuver and was an enemy of emulating dogmas, or "formulas," as he ironically called them. Quoting words of Marx and Engels that "our teaching is not dogma, but a guide to action," he supported the classics, "who correctly scoffed at memorization and simple repetition of formulas" which in the best case are capable only of outlining general tasks, necessarily modified by the specific economic and political situation of each special interval of the historical process." Himself a brilliant expert in the theory of scientific socialism and at the same time a genuine realist, Lenin boldly rejected any postulates which just yesterday were immutable and was able to recognize mistakes and resolutely renounce obsolete methods. He would turn an idea into will, and the will led people, it was cast into specific forms of an event, and it "made history."

It is the revolutionary dialectics—the important element in Marxist-Leninist teaching—that distinguishes all of Vladimir Ilich's post-October activity, whether it be the political and moral exploit of the Brest peace, which saved thousands on thousands of lives as well as the very existence of the socialist homeland, or the decision on the new economic policy, which considerably extended the horizons of ideas about socialism and ways of building it.

Reserve Officer I. Labutin writes to the editors: "All of us today find it as necessary as the breath of life to refer to Lenin and to his dialectical approach in solving the most important state problems. It is necessary for perestroika. But do not extract individual theses from Lenin's heritage and build one's own concepts on them, as some authors of articles do, for when you look deeper, Lenin himself already revised them subsequently."

The reader goes on to say that some authors, for example, declaim for a revision of military organizational development and a return, let us say, to a militia system, and they refer to Lenin in so doing. In fact, he wrote in 1917: "We want to have that kind of republic where there are no police that taunt the people; where all officials from bottom to top are only elective and are replaceable at any time at the people's demand; . . . where all ranking officials in the army are just as elective and where a standing army separated from the people and placed under the command of classes alien to the people is replaced by the universal arming of the people, by a militia of all the people."

Not a year went by when the need to defend the homeland and revolution forced parting with the idea of a universal arming of the people. With passage of power into the proletariat's hands, activation of a regular Red Army and people's militia began at Lenin's initiative, accompanied at first by a difficult struggle for their professionalism, strict one-man command, and iron military discipline. All our country's subsequent history confirmed the timeliness and wisdom of the steps taken then.

In beginning perestroika in the country four years ago, the party turned above all to Lenin's thought that socialism is the masses' living creativeness, it is a society of people of initiative. This profound idea was turned into a simple slogan during the long years of Stalinism and stagnation, but today its original meaning has returned. The chosen course toward democratization, glasnost, and economic and political reforms in the country presented "complete freedom of creativeness to the masses of people." Today all our people take part in society's renewal. The elections of USSR people's deputies, held on new democratic bases, unambiguously determined Soviet citizens' choice in favor of perestroika.

Yes, we understand that perestroika is still only at the beginning of the path, that there are many hindrances and obstacles along this path, and that it will be difficult to overcome them. Here we must act together and cooperate while taking into account the interests of each republic, of the entire country, and of every nation and nationality; we must learn to live according to Lenin and "be able to be . . . an internationalist in fact" according to Lenin. Is this not one of the reasons for the aggravation of interethnic relations that so troubles us all: that we forgot the fundamental bases of the policy of nationalities formulated by Lenin and at some stage rested on our laurels, considering all problems resolved?

Perestroika today calls for restoring Leninist principles of socialism and for mastering the ideas and methods of Leninism. This means that today Lenin becomes even closer for each of us, scientist or worker, intellectual or military; he seemingly goes forth with us again, as in October 1917, at the beginning of the century, to the forward edge of struggle for a real renewal of all aspects of the life of Soviet citizens.

Readers' letters from the April mailbag, some of which we are printing today, confirm these thoughts.

Lt Gen Gromov on Leninism, Internationalism

18010632b Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
21 Apr 89 First Edition p 1

[Letter by Lt Gen B. Gromov, HSU, People's Deputy USSR: "And Hearts Were Warmed"]

[Text] This was in Afghanistan during Operation "Mainline." Our units together with Afghan Army sub-units had just removed the blockade of the city of Khost, having thrown back the Mujaheddin who were attempting to break the courage of its defenders and residents by siege. Representatives of local authorities and Afghan Army generals and officers came to see us at the command post. We were congratulating each other with a successfully unfolding operation [operatsiya] and discussing further joint operations [deystviye]. Straight ahead of us, the first column with flour and other provisions so needed by the population was proceeding along the road, which had been freed of rebels. And suddenly I quite unexpectedly heard the word "Lenin" uttered by one of the Afghans standing nearby.

I joined in the conversation through an interpreter, attempting to understand what they were talking about. The Afghans were speaking about the friendship of our peoples and about Leninist principles of internationalism which their people had become aware of for the first time back in 1919, when at Lenin's initiative Soviet Russia was first to recognize the sovereignty of Afghanistan and give assistance to the neighboring country. In recalling events of long ago, however, my companions were not simply stating facts. They were arguing that Lenin's teaching on the socialist revolution and on proletarian internationalism was being confirmed by experience and by present-day reality.

I will say frankly that such episodes warmed our hearts and gave meaning to our servicemen's heroic actions and exploits.

Response to Readers on Nature of Dedovshchina

18010632c Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
22 Apr 89 First Edition p 2

[Article by Col (Res) Yu. Teplov: "On the Question of Dedovshchina"]

[Text] Our newspaper published an article by writer Yu. Teplov on 5 February entitled "A Regiment Like Any Other Regiment." In their responses to it, the readers continue discussing dedovshchina and problems connected with it. We asked the author of the article to comment on these letters.

First he phoned:

"I found out your home telephone number from your acquaintances. I request permission for a brief visit concerning the debatable paragraphs of 'A Regiment Like Any Other Regiment'."

Apparently he was phoning from a nearby booth, because he was already at the door about seven minutes later. He had a youthful, athletic appearance despite graying temples, and was dressed to match. He introduced himself:

"Arkadiy."

A minute later we were already talking about dedovshchina and, in the light of this problem, about reforms in general and the Armed Forces in particular.

"That is not Aushev's method," he said. "Commanders who apply pressure are a thing of the past. It is at the very least frivolous to make a hero of fanatics in the era of the NTR [scientific-technical revolution]."

"But no perestroyka is possible without fanatics!"

"Perestroyka specifically is the weakest spot in the article. There are few constructive proposals. I assume that you were not allowed to say everything."

"No," I returned, "they allowed me to say everything."

"That means the era of stagnation also influenced your views. It is a great pity. The question must be posed more deeply: cut political workers in half so that there is less shop talk; make the Army professional."

"That is to say mercenary?" I clarified. "Serve for money?"

"Then mercenary, if you like this word..."

I already had occasion to read in the press and hear similar statements. Despite their seeming simplicity and enticing nature, dozens of "but's" were immediately placed after these suggestions. First of all, they appeared very adventurist without consideration of economic factors. Secondly, even if the economy did allow it, is everything here so indisputable? Will our Army not lose something very important contained in the concepts of duty, patriotism, and even "one bone and one flesh"—that which, always was one of our strongest points?

I asked Arkadiy:

"Are you an officer or warrant officer?"

"Officer."

"Where are you serving?"

"That is of no significance."

His last name, it turns out, also was of no significance. He refused to give it, referring to the fact that he was expressing the opinion of the masses.

It made no sense to carry on a discussion with anonymous masses, and we parted. This visit most likely would have been forgotten, but suddenly there was one letter in the packet of readers' letters which contained something close to the meaning of Arkadiy's statements. What was my astonishment when at the end of the letter I found the signature "K. N." and the postscript: "I apologize for the cowardice."

We will not debate the essence of the suggestions now; life will judge. I am sure of one thing: not only will such "zealots of perestroika" never become fanatics; they will never even become fellow-travelers of practical affairs. They may give tongue from behind a blank wall—certainly that, but no more. But their opinions will not pass without a trace, especially if they are circulated.

But let us return to the responding letters, whose authors are seriously concerned over the fate of officers and men.

One letter stands out. It was written by L. Kravchenko, a soldier's mother, who recently visited the unit where her son serves. "I am very happy that my Oleg is not experiencing humiliation, and that he is helped at difficult moments by experienced commanders and trusty comrades..."

The soldier's mother unwittingly answered my visitor, who was also sure that I had embellished the state of affairs concerning dedovshchina in the unit, or that this regiment was the only one in the Armed Forces where they had put an end to this evil.

It is not the only one. There are many such units. Improvement has been seen; Pvt V. Smirnov and WO V. Krayko write about this in their letters. But it is of course premature to speak of some kind of radical change, and for this reason the majority of readers, indignant over dedovshchina, make specific suggestions on how to eradicate it.

"You only touched in passing on the training of junior commanders," writes Capt (Ret) V. Gudkov. "But the microclimate in the barracks depends on them no less than on the officers. I think that the regimental NCO school was written off prematurely. I myself took it at one time..."

Probably one can judge the regimental school in different ways, but the old soldier was absolutely right in one respect: people were chosen for it from companies and platoons in a concerned manner, with an eye to the future. Now everything seemingly has assumed a larger and more substantial scale with training grounds and training units, but NCO's arriving in the regiment are unprepared, especially as educators. Moreover, they

themselves often are the instigators of barracks hooliganism or silently shut their eyes to it. I recall that the military lawyers in Khabarovsk with whom I had occasion to meet before ending up in the regiment with Aushev also said much about this.

"An NCO from a training unit is like a pig in a poke," said Col Justice A. Krivov at that time. "The experience of regimental schools has been forgotten for nothing."

"Even let the training units remain," said Col Justice V. Nikolayev, supporting him, "but future NCO's should be sent there by the commander of the regiment to which they will later return, not by military commissariats, which orient themselves on questionnaires..."

Hardly anyone doubts that there must be a proprietor in the barracks as in any house. Officers of older age groups remember such a proprietor: a company first sergeant from among extended-term servicemen. He was rich not so much in knowledge as in experience. Former infantryman V. Kozheparov and former navyman V. Tsapko gratefully recall their ranking NCO's and other junior commanders. Perhaps not everything went smoothly for them in service, but memory has preserved what is brightest—soldiers' friendship.

And is there a proprietor presently in the barracks? And can a ranking NCO from among first-term servicemen become such to the full extent? He probably can sometimes, but as a rule he will not make a wise uncle and mentor.

At the same time, establishing a warrant officer institute was a good concept at one time. According to this idea, the warrant officers were supposed to be at a level above extended-term ranking NCO's, but they were not. The bulk of them settled in depots, where it was cozier and easier than educating subordinates.

"This depot legion has to be replaced," writes Lt Col (Res) M. Reznikov in a letter from Perm. "The rank of warrant officer must be elevated to the level of educator, but it should be conferred only on those who work with people. . . . Then the barracks will not go without supervision and the need for various kinds of responsible persons' will disappear of itself."

The practice of having "responsible persons" who are not provided for by regulations did not escape the readers' attention. It touched young officers above all and understandably did not receive approval. By the way, that is how it should be. Officers also are citizens

and also have a constitutional right to normal rest. They see a successful outcome in the struggle against dedovshchina not in a 14-hour workday, but in a change in the existing situation where an officer's service is directly dependent on how a subordinate behaves himself. Subordinates are oh, so different; as different as our society is diverse.

Among those who arrive for first-term service are people who do not accept not only military discipline, but not even discipline in general. The call-up to the Army is for some individuals a sure opportunity to escape responsibility for infractions of the law. Drug addicts and other "addicts" end up among draftees, but nevertheless all of them understand that even the commander will pay dearly for their acts.

In this connection I cannot help but mention one other letter-writer—Capt Valeriy Chadyuk, one of those mentioned in the article "A Regiment Like Any Other Regiment." Without calling into question the important factor of a cover-up of beatings in the company which he commanded, the captain reproaches the article's author for being inaccurate in time and having a lack of understanding. I will respond to this for all to hear. If there are inaccuracies, they appeared either from official documents or from conversations with officers and enlisted men. Of course, I should also have had a talk with Chadyuk, but he serves in another unit, and at that time I did not know where. Sensing my unwitting blame for this, I am informing the readers of what I learned from his letter: his former political officer, Sr Lt Tulgayev, served his time in Afghanistan and returned from there with an Order of Red Star. I will also give out loud the name of the deputy regimental commander for political affairs (he also returned from Afghanistan in February), who connived in covering up a crime—Maj Savoskin.

I dwell on these facts not only because of Capt Chadyuk's letter, but also to denote once more the complexity of the problem. A paradoxical situation arises: officers calmly fight an armed foe, but they retreat and even flee from an enemy by the name of "dedovshchina." These are the flaws in the system of Army relationships, when danger and risk are easier to endure than an administrative paper assault.

The reality is such that in the fight against dedovshchina principle often turns its shady side to the officer; figures in records shout straight out: look at how many violations he has, this good-for-nothing educator, who is "not in keeping"! And so people use cunning; they serve not the cause, but figures. That same record that should be an objective indicator of the level of discipline and should serve for its strengthening is a mechanism of retardation on this path, or even a tool for downgrading discipline.

Dedovshchina is an elemental striving by a certain group of persons to obtain privileges, the result of a dehumanization of the individual in society despite the call from

the rostrum not so long ago to consider the human factor. But is it possible to consider it in an atmosphere of formalized, hierarchic relations? Our powerful regulations, which regulate such relations among military people, also largely have separated form from substance and in practical execution also have been covered by the rust of formalism.

"I believe that certain provisions of the regulations require updating," writes Maj (Ret) A. Bezgin in a letter from Mtsensk. "In particular is it possible to consider as law the order of a superior officer to assign him a soldier for building his own dacha? Of course, a higher commander does not order, but requests such a favor of a lower commander. But only the order gets to the privates at the fatigue parade: so many people to such-and-such a site. . . . My son served in Ufa as a builder and perfected his military specialty at the political deputy's dacha. . . . Recently I myself was witness to how soldiers labored by the sweat of their brow to build a garage for a military official. . . . Such facts can be termed only a 'disgrace.' This disgrace pierces a breach through which nonregulation relationships crawl. Officers allowing such a thing must be driven from the Army without pity. And without financial compensation! Here is your reserve for a reduction in force..."

Such a tie-in of the problem of dedovshchina and the upcoming reduction in the Armed Forces probably is legitimate. Readers do this very intrinsically in any case, troubled that the release of officers all at once will give the bureaucrats cause to remove the most principled ones, those capable of opposing dedovshchina without a thought for themselves.

My old colleague Lt Col (Res) M. Kashin fears a relapse of Khrushchev's reduction: "At that time not only ships, but also human destinies went under the knife. . . . But everything must be done openly, with the participation of officer collectives, and not in the offices of personnel directorates and departments. Offices will wish to preserve the enormous management echelon..."

My comrade reported the spontaneous discussion of the article by veterans. As one who was expressing a collective opinion, he classified servicemen by groups which can be reduced not only painlessly, but also with benefit for the Armed Forces: those who do not wish to serve; those who cannot serve for particular reasons; and those who sit in their slots without a practical return, whether it be in Ministry of Defense research institutes, on staffs, or in some other military organization.

These thoughts are shared in the letters of Col (Res) M. Mitelnyy and pensioner Yuriy Ivanovich Danilov. The latter in particular wrote: "Having been relieved of ballast, the Army will retain those who found their calling in it and are ready to fight dedovshchina to the end, sweeping aside any considerations of present conditions. Like Aushev."

Sympathy for Lt Col Ruslan Aushev is caused not so much by his heroic past as by his uncompromising position with respect to dedovshchina.

Without going into detail, many readers simply wish him and his family every success, as expressed in letters from soldiers' mothers M. Polyakova from Omsk, Ivanova

from Debaltsevo, and Migacheva from Bryansk Oblast, as well as in letters from V. Smirnov from the city of Svobodnyy, L. Shevtsova from Rostov-on-Don and others...

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Foreign Policy Aspect of Defense Policy

18010672 Moscow *KOMMUNIST*

VOORUZHENNYKH SIL in Russian No 7, Apr 89
pp 20-26

[Article by I. Kulkov]

[Text] About the author: Ivan Ivanovich Kulkov was a participant of the Great Patriotic War. He graduated from the Moscow State Institute of International Relations. He worked in the Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the CPSU Central Committee and in the Higher Party School. He is presently working in a scientific research institution. He is the author of several books and pamphlets, and of numerous works on international and military political subjects; he is a candidate of economic sciences and a docent.

There are conclusions and admissions which are difficult to make but without which it would be impossible to move forward. In the mid-1980s, the Soviet state's internal development reached a dangerous line of economic stagnation and near-crisis in the national economy. Politics were dominated by bureaucratic and dictatorial methods of the society's leadership, the principles of democracy were being violated, and glasnost was not working. And this was at a time in which the international situation remained dangerous and contradictory. The arms race unleashed by imperialism attained unprecedented heights. The USA and NATO were openly aggressive in relation to the socialist fraternity.

Sober scientific analysis, political wisdom and boldness were what was required of the Communist Party in its assessment of the situation under these conditions. The new leadership of the CPSU honestly and openly admitted to the flaws of the period of stagnation, and began restructuring all spheres of the life of Soviet society. The April (1985) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th All-Union Party Conference became turning points in the history of the USSR. Restructuring began within the country, in its foreign and defense policy, and in the USSR Armed Forces. And this was to be expected, since the foreign policy and defense functions of the Soviet state are in many ways interdependent and closely coupled.

Had Mistakes Been Made?

Restructuring. This word has now entered the political lexicon of many countries. And restructuring itself has become a factor of international significance. In the words of U.S. Senator (Dem) Thomas Harkin, "it is also encouraging Americans to take a look at themselves and determine their immediate objectives.... Restructuring is a life-giving process for the USA and the peoples of other countries as well."

The CPSU organically associates the course of restructuring the internal life of Soviet society with transformations in both foreign political and military relations with all developed countries of the capitalist system. And chiefly with the USA, with which we have the most complex relations.

The party admitted that the most important foreign policy decisions had often been made in our country by a small circle of people, without collective and comprehensive discussion and analysis. Nor had the CPSU always sought advice openly from communist parties of other socialist countries. As a result the reactions to international events and to the policy of other states were hardly uniform. The time has now come to regret the fact that our supreme leadership had not always carefully weighed and correctly assessed what a particular military step in the international arena might have as its result, and what its cost to the Soviet people might be.

The Soviet Union became the first to oppose and persistently fight the threat of nuclear war hanging over mankind, and it is still waging this fight. However, it has not always been consistent and logical in its foreign policy activities. New possibilities for reducing international tension and attaining greater mutual understanding between countries and peoples were not fully realized. While they discussed the enormous threat hanging over the world as a result of accumulation of nuclear weapons and the nuclear arms race, former political and military leaders of the USSR and prominent social scientists still did not exclude the possibility of victory in nuclear war, feeling that it would lead only to the demise of the capitalist system, and not of the whole human race.

As a consequence we observed confrontational approaches to nonconfrontational situations, and a military-political response in place of a purely political one. Responding to the nuclear challenge made by capitalist states against the USSR and all socialist countries, and concentrating enormous resources and attention on the military aspect of opposing imperialism, it was said at the 19th party conference, we have not always utilized political possibilities for ensuring the state's security and for reducing tension between nations—possibilities which became available in connection with fundamental changes occurring in the world. And as a result of this, we allowed ourselves to be drawn into an arms race, which could not but have an effect on the country's socio-economic development and on its international position.

In the 1970s and early 1980s the USSR made "knee-jerk" responses to the arms race initiated in the West. In response to the appearance of certain new armament systems in the West, and chiefly in the USA, we began the effort of creating similar systems on the spot. We were of course compelled to do so. But obviously the search for political means and the effort to turn the world public to our side had not been pursued to the end.

Time sorts everything out. It is now clear that in foreign policy, the role of Western European countries in world affairs was underestimated, and adequate attention was not devoted to states of other regions—Asian and Latin American for example. Proposals made at the highest level were not always promptly materialized as specific diplomatic actions. In its fight for peace the USSR became carried away with debate and discussions, and therefore it often found itself under the control of some Western officials who were ready to deliberately conduct endless debates. We also clearly underestimated another substantial factor in international relations—popular diplomacy, communication with the public.

On the whole, of course, the basic line of Soviet foreign policy kept to the general direction developed and proclaimed by V. I. Lenin, a course toward ensuring peace and strengthening the security of both the Soviet Union and all mankind. But the mistakes and miscalculations noted above resulted in the fact that our numerous peace initiatives did not produce the positive results for which they were intended, and the military threat steadily increased.

Under these conditions the CPSU raised the issue of not simply improving but renewing all of the country's foreign and defense policy. As in the case of domestic policy, the CPSU turned to Leninist methodology of analyzing social phenomena in its first efforts to restructure foreign policy on the basis of a new way of political thinking. And primarily to the experience of acting in all situations from the positions of realism, and on the basis of the mutual relationship existing between foreign and domestic policy.

Do the Strong Need Force?

Interpreting and analyzing the realities of the modern world, the CPSU developed a new way of political thinking. The party based itself on the idea that all contradictions and differences between the interests of peoples and states exist in an increasingly more integral and interrelated world. As it developed its foreign political and military strategy in the era of restructuring, the CPSU began paying attention not to the traditional accounting of the balance of forces but a politically new position—accounting for the interests of the sides. Approaches and aspirations which required solution of disputed issues by military means were completely excluded.

"...Force and the threat of force," declared M. S. Gorbachev in a speech to the United Nations, "cannot and should not be an instrument of foreign policy. This pertains first of all to nuclear weapons, but matters go beyond them as well. Self-restraint and complete exclusion of the use of force outside one's country are required of all, and chiefly of the stronger." This position represents the first and most important component of the ideal of a nonviolent world.

The party came to the conclusion that the values of mankind in general must prevail over class values. Survival of mankind was determined as the principal and priority objective of foreign and defense policy. A program of gradual elimination of nuclear weapons by the year 2000, implementation of the ideas of establishing universal security and an "all-European house," restructuring of relations in the Asian-Pacific region, the conception of sufficient defense, of nonaggressive defense, arms reduction, resolution of regional conflicts, withdrawal of troops from foreign territories, international economic and ecological security, and inclusion of science in world policy became the most important components of this policy.

Thus the task is to fully implement the principle of peaceful coexistence as the highest universal principle of international relations. But the USSR has rejected viewing this principle as a special form of class struggle. Because peaceful coexistence is based on the principles of nonaggression, respect of sovereignty and national independence, noninterference in the internal affairs of other states, and freedom of choice of the paths of political and socioeconomic development. Our basis for action today is that freedom of choice is a universal principle, and there must be no exceptions to it. The USSR also favors deideologization of international relations, which presupposes rejection of any attempt to carry over the ideological struggle to mutual relations between states.

In the modern era the struggle between the two opposing systems is not the dominant trend of world development. This is true because priority is now placed on common human values, on the interests of social progress, and on the struggle for survival of human civilization.

When it began restructuring foreign and defense policy, the Communist Party and the government based themselves on interrelationships between the domestic and the foreign policy course. Foreign policy is in fact a continuation of domestic policy. This is why it has been made our objective to make defense policy more profitable, if I may be permitted to use that term—that is, to ensure the USSR's defense capabilities in the conditions of economic reform through the lowest financial and material outlays.

It was emphasized at the 19th party conference that the effectiveness of our defense construction must be ensured from this day forward predominantly by qualitative parameters in relation to both technology and military science on one hand and the composition of the armed forces on the other. It is important for restructuring of defense policy to proceed in such a way as not to allow the USSR to be drawn into new rounds of the arms race. As was noted earlier, this has a negative effect on the country's socioeconomic development and on its international position.

And this is the way we are proceeding. Restructuring its defense policy in particular, the Soviet Union rejected "knee-jerk" response to the West in the production of the latest types of arms. Despite attempts by Western propaganda to show that "the Russians have overtaken" the USA in space-based arms and created their own antiballistic missile defense system, the USSR has declared on several occasions at the most authoritative level that there is no such thing as a Soviet SDI program. Since it declared a moratorium on all testing of antisatellite systems in 1985, the USSR has not created any space weapons. The only thing that the USSR has and maintains is the one antiballistic missile complex around Moscow, which is strictly in keeping with the letter of the 1972 ABM Treaty.

Another highly important aspect of restructuring of defense policy is that the Soviet Union will maintain its defense capability at a level of reasonable and reliable sufficiency, and this was once again announced in the United Nations. This means that our country will invariably observe military equilibrium and strategic parity between the USSR and the USA, between the Warsaw Pact and NATO; it will maintain a potential necessary only for guaranteed repulsion of aggression and excluding the possibility of surprise and major offensive operations. The balance of forces between the two sides must be determined not by the principle of who possesses more armament, but by the principle of reasonable sufficiency for defense. This is what is to ensure strategic stability in our complex and contradictory world.

Are There Borders to Glasnost?

Historical experience confirms that without the participation of prominent scholars of international relations and other specialists, without regard for public opinion, and without glasnost in general, an extremely small circle of people, even if they are of a very authoritative rank, would hardly be able to ensure adoption of optimum foreign policy decisions. We are compelled to speak about this today in connection with Afghanistan. In the conditions of restructuring, our leadership came to the conclusion that the Afghan regional knot will not be untangled by military means. And so a course toward political solution of the problem was adopted. As was foreseen by the Geneva Accords, the last Soviet soldier left the territory of Afghanistan on 15 February. We kept our political word.

The Soviet people must know the price of the security of their state, and the possibilities for reducing this price by utilizing political means more extensively. In the conditions of economic reform, in which every kopeck is being accounted for, it is correct to place priority on political solutions from an economic standpoint as well.

Restructuring defense policy, the Soviet state is employing glasnost not only inside the country but also in the international arena. We openly declare our goals addressing both the governments and the peoples of the

world. Thus, speaking at the UN General Assembly's Third Special Session on Disarmament, E. A. Shevardnadze noted that glasnost is one, that it stretches beyond state borders. For the first time from the podium of the United Nations a Soviet representative communicated information on strategic offensive arms, on the number of units of delivery vehicles and on the total number of warheads they carry, including those installed in sea-based cruise missiles.

The USSR Ministry of Defense is actively participating in the development of the foreign policy aspect of the defense policy of the USSR and the Warsaw Pact. The highest military leaders and experts took a most direct part in summit talks from Geneva to Moscow. The leadership of the USSR Armed Forces is also involved in the efforts to organize fulfillment of the INF Treaty, to prepare materials concerned with limiting and reducing arms and armed forces, to establish monitoring and to solve other complex problems.

It was difficult to imagine just 2-3 years ago that the U.S. secretary of defense would meet not just once but as many as three times in 1988 with the USSR defense minister. The chief of general staff of the USSR Armed Forces visited the USA. He was received in the Pentagon, he attended military exercises, and he visited the aircraft carrier "Theodore Roosevelt." An American representative—the chairman of the Committee of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the U.S. Armed Forces—will visit the USSR in 1989. Other meetings between the highest Soviet and American military leaders have been planned as well.

All of this is helping us to find the balance of interests and is providing a possibility for taking the first real step forward on the road to nuclear disarmament, and to prepare the conditions for further constructive negotiations and positive solutions. This has demonstrated the great value of dialogue, and the possibility for solving complex international problems by political and not by military means.

The new approach of the Soviet leadership to the foreign policy aspect of defense policy has especially important significance to the success of restructuring within the country and to ensuring Soviet and international security. Moreover it is viewed not as the sum of new principles and views, but as a philosophy of action. A confirmation of this is the Soviet proposals for unilateral reduction of troops and arms in Europe, the USSR's announcement at the Paris conference on chemical weapons that it intends to destroy chemical weapons at a facility specially prepared for this purpose by as early as 1989, and publication of comparative data on the strength of the armed forces and armament of Warsaw Pact and NATO countries.

The idea of a new way of political thinking and the all-embracing system of international security were expressed in the 1986 New Delhi Declaration. It proclaimed the principles of creating a nuclear-free and nonviolent world.

New Approaches

The INF Treaty between the USA and the USSR has become a confirmation of the vitality of the program for a nonviolent and nuclear-free world and for an all-embracing system of international security, and a refutation of some Western officials who accused this program of being utopian. This was the first most important step toward a nuclear-free world.

The signing of the INF Treaty demonstrated not only the possibility that a world without nuclear arms could be created but also the success of restructuring of Soviet defense policy and the effectiveness of its new approaches. Because rather than attempting to tie together all of its proposals into a single package, as had happened in the past, in Washington the Soviet side proposed removing medium-range missiles from the overall package and signing a separate treaty in relation to them—independently from resolving the issue of strategic defensive weapons and space arms, including SDI.

The treaty is being implemented—missiles are being destroyed—in normal fashion, in a trusting and business-like atmosphere. All of this provided the Soviet leader the basis for announcing in the United Nations that a new historical reality is arising before our eyes in our country—a turn from the principle of possessing more arms than the other side to the principle of reasonable sufficiency for defense. Moreover, preconditions were created for the next step forward toward a nuclear-free world—for the signing of a treaty to reduce strategic offensive arms in the conditions of strict compliance with the ABM Treaty (1972), and to observe it for an agreed period. Next in line are prohibition of nuclear testing and the signing of a universal convention on prohibition and elimination of chemical weapons.

Clear confirmation of the effectiveness of the new realistic approaches to solving complex problems can be found in the successful conclusion to the Vienna meeting (January 1981) of representatives of states in the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe. The mandate it created for negotiations by 23 states of the Warsaw Pact and NATO on reducing armed forces and conventional arms in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals foresees attainment of stability at a lower level of armed forces and arms, and elimination of the potential for a surprise attack and for large-scale offensive actions.

The Soviet Union attaches important significance to raising the authority, role and effectiveness of the United Nations in the matter of maintaining peace on the planet. Our country is doing everything it can to promote reinforcement of the role of this universal international organization, and it is influencing renewal of world policy through it. In addition to conducting UN operations in a region in which conflicts already exist, the USSR feels it possible to use the United Nations to prevent conflicts in their early stages. We are prepared to

participate in formation of a system to train personnel for service in UN troops on a mutual basis with other countries. The Soviet Union is prepared to examine the issue of allocating its own military contingent for UN operations in support of peace, and to participate in material and technical supply of UN forces.

A decision announced at the United Nations by the Soviet government on unilateral reduction of conventional arms and armed forces in Europe was a great practical contribution to the turn from "more arms" to the principle of reasonable sufficiency for defense, and to construction of the all-European house. In 2 years (1989-1990) their strength will be reduced by 500,000 men and by 10,000 tanks and other armament. Six tank divisions are being withdrawn from the GDR, Czechoslovakia and Hungary or disbanded. Among the groups of Soviet forces in these countries, assault landing and a number of other formations and units will also be withdrawn, including assault bridging units together with their armament and combat equipment. A clearly defensive structure will be imparted to the remaining divisions. This will be the result of removing a large number of tanks from them.

Moreover the USSR's military budget will be reduced by 14.2 percent. Production of armament and military equipment will be reduced by 19.5 percent. All of this is evidence that the Soviet Union is not only making concrete proposals on arms reduction, but is also filling its military doctrine with practical content, making it truly defensive. The Soviet initiatives are supported by other countries of the Warsaw Pact. They also decided on unilateral reduction of their armed forces and reduction of defense expenditures.

Pursuing a policy of glasnost and criticizing the shortcomings of the past, the leadership of the USSR openly admitted that for a long time the Soviet side had a negative attitude toward certain verification measures. They, and especially the on-site inspections the USA aspired to, were interpreted by us solely as legalization of espionage. This did not promote attainment of agreement, and provided the grounds for anti-Soviet propaganda. Life demanded new approaches, a new way of political thinking in the area of verification of disarmament as well.

Who would have thought 3 years ago that foreign specialists would be admitted to the USSR's test ranges, military bases and plants? The same goes equally for the USA. Moscow and Washington took such a step voluntarily, recognizing that it would be in their national interests to "reveal" their military secrets.

One of the priority tasks in the foreign policy sphere of the defense of the USSR and other Warsaw Pact countries is a course toward complete and universal prohibition of nuclear testing. We are realists. We do not stand on maximalist positions today—all or nothing. The most reasonable and possible path is to solve this highly important problem stage by stage.

The peace-loving initiatives we are offering today in the foreign policy sphere of defense policy (not in the manner of former times) are being materialized rather quickly as specific acts and diplomatic actions. In February 1987, at the international forum "For a Nuclear-Free World, for Survival of Mankind," we returned to the old idea of eliminating foreign bases on foreign territories.

A little more than a year has passed since then, and as early as at the UN General Assembly's Third Special Session on Disarmament (June 1988) the USSR proposed an elaborate program for complete elimination of foreign military presence and military bases on foreign territories by the year 2000. In the opinion of the USSR, this problem needs to be solved gradually, with regard for the specific features and actual needs of security and defense. Although it did not receive universal support at that time, the Soviet proposal still stands.

The "Arctic peace program" declared in fall 1987 by M. S. Gorbachev in Murmansk also stands. Its goal is to make the Arctic a zone of peace and trust through radical reduction of military activity. The Krasnoyarsk initiatives directed at demilitarizing and relaxing tension in the Asia-Pacific region also await their implementation. Once they are implemented, the colossal potential of Asia and of the Pacific and Indian basins, in which more than 3 billion people live, will begin working for the good

of general human progress and for creation of a universal system of peace and international security. Implementation of the idea of creating an all-European house has special significance; the results of Vienna talks on conventional armed forces and on measures to strengthen trust and security in Europe have special significance.

Restructuring, the new way of political thinking, and the USSR's struggle for peace and collective security. Today in the West, these are often perceived as synonyms. The French newspaper FIGARO noted that a new situation has evolved in the world. The USSR is no longer perceived by the West as a dangerous state. Many American and other Western newspapers are writing in the same spirit.

Does this mean that the "enemy image" is gradually dissipating in the West? It seems that this is so. Sympathies toward the Soviet people, toward the Soviet government, and trust in its foreign and defense policy are growing.

But the broad and acute struggle between the old and new ways of thinking, and the confrontation between the forces of peace and war, upon the outcome of which the future of the entire planet depends, are far from finished.

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Readers' Questions on Pensions Answered

18010673 Moscow KOMMUNIST
VOORUZHENNYKH SIL in Russian No 7,
Apr 89 pp 74-78

[Unsigned Article: "Please Explain"]

[Excerpt] Maj Gen N. Bay, deputy chief, Central Financial Directorate, USSR Ministry of Defense, answers the questions of our readers.

"It is known that men, including military personnel, must work a minimum of 25 years to obtain a pension in the amount of 50 percent of their salary, and women (civilians) a minimum of 20 years to obtain such a pension. The question arises: Why do women in the military service have to work 25 years like men, and not 20 years, to receive a pension in the amount of 50 percent of their salary? Can this inequality be eliminated?"

"I do not wish for my name to appear in the journal. My reason? As a woman in military service I am accustomed to being in a state of constant alarm about receiving an extension of service for each 2 years. It is true that there have never been any complaints about my service by the command, and in all my years I have served in the most responsible sectors. But, I am already 48 years old and have 21 years of Army service (actually there are also another 7 years of civilian work, which, unfortunately, in this case are not counted).

"In a year my term is ending and I will have 22 years of service. Whether I will have an opportunity to serve further, as you yourselves understand, does not depend on me. If I succeed in serving 25 years I will have a pension of approximately 100 rubles at 52 years of age; if not it will be half as much. I am in fifth category, the highest for servicewomen. I am not one who is afraid of getting her hands dirty, and I know well the meaning of a non-standardized work day, combat readiness, alert duty, alarms and exercises, with which all of my service has been associated. Health and a high capacity for work assist me. But, nevertheless, 25 years for a woman in the army is the male norm, and that is why I have written you. In my years of service I have known many servicewomen, but so far not a single one who would serve until receiving her pension.

Air Defense Forces"

Pensions are established for servicewomen by the Statute on Pension Support for Officers, Warrant Officers, Extended Service Personnel and Their Families, approved by USSR Council of Ministers Resolution No 986 of 10 Nov 82.

It is true that, as stated in the letter, in contrast to civilian female workers and employees, for whom a pension due to age in the amount of 50 percent of their salary can be given after 20 years' work, in accordance

with the above mentioned statute, pensions for years of service in the amount of 50 percent of salary are established for women in the military after 25 years of service.

However, in this regard it must be taken into account that the pension for age is designated for women when they reach 55 years of age, while the pension for 25 years of service is designated for servicewomen regardless of age. Moreover, the amount of this pension for servicewomen, given the corresponding number of years of service, may reach 75 percent of salary. The number of periods of military service is counted in the years of service for designation of a pension under advantageous conditions.

Moreover, existing legislation provides that service in the Soviet Army and Navy is counted in the overall length of employment for receiving a pension due to age. Therefore, after a servicewoman is discharged from active military service, if she desires, a pension for age can be set for her on the terms established for civilian female workers and employees.

Under these circumstances, servicewomen are not in the worst condition in matters of pension support, compared with women working in the civilian economy.

At the present time the directive organs are developing a draft of a new USSR law on pension support for workers, which, after nationwide discussion, is planned to be put into effect in the 13th Five-Year Plan. In connection with this, taking into account the suggestions that are received, questions of further improving pension support for officers, warrant officers, and extended service personnel, including servicewomen, will be examined.

"In accordance with Article 60 of the 'Statute on Pension Support of Officers...', approved by USSR Council of Ministers Resolution No 986 of 10 Nov 82, and announced for guidance by corresponding Minister of Defense order: 'For officers in the rank of colonel and the equivalent, transferred after 12 Dec 77 in the interests of the service, in the established manner, due to state of health or age, from positions they occupied no less than three years, to positions with lower salary, who by the date of transfer have the right to a pension for years of service, upon discharge from active military service pensions may be calculated based on the salary for the position occupied before this transfer, and salary for military rank at the date of discharge...'

"Please explain whether this statute can be applied if a colonel, age 47, was transferred in the established way to a position with lower salary in connection with organizational measures, due to a lack of vacant positions in this period? My efficiency report was favorable. My state of health is good.

Col B. Bitinkov, Red Banner Kiev Military District."

As is stated correctly in the letter, the statute, approved by USSR Council of Ministers resolution, provides that officer personnel in the ranks of colonel and higher, who are transferred in the interest of the service due to state of health or age, from positions they occupied no less than three years to positions that entail lower salaries, who by the date of transfer have the right to receive a pension for years of service, subsequently, upon discharge from active military service, may have pensions calculated based on the salary received for the position occupied before this transfer, and the salary for military rank for the date of discharge. Specific information about the reason for the transfer of the serviceman and his right to subsequent calculation of pension in the indicated manner are set forth in these cases in the assignment order.

For military personnel transferred for other reasons, including reduction of tables of organization, pensions designated subsequently are calculated in the generally established way, from the salary according to position and military rank that were actually paid to them on the date of discharge from active military service.

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Unit Economic Activity Encourages Illegalities

18010666 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
13 May 89 First Edition p 1

[Article by Judge Advocate Major General A. Polonskiy:
"Where Did the Gas Go"]

[Text] Several thousand liters of gasoline have been pilfered from our unit over the course of two months with Lieutenant Colonel A. Tsibulskiy's knowledge. Two Ural-375 automobiles, having planned daily routes of 150-200 kilometers, were filled with gasoline and no one drove them. I am ready to present requisitions for the vehicle's use, signed by Lt Col Tsibulskiy, in which he acknowledges receipt of the fuel obtained.

Senior Lieutenant S. Grudtsev, Chief of Unit Motor Transport Support Service, Volga Military District.

At the editor's request, the Military District judge advocate comments:

"An investigation, jointly conducted by the garrison judge advocate and district GSM [Fuel and Lubricants] service specialists, confirmed what was written in the letter. It was established that during the period from July 1988 to January 1989, Lt Col Tsibulskiy and Majors B. Kabakov and V. Pivovarchuk allowed the embezzlement of 1,432 liters of AI-98 fuel worth 3,580 rubles which was intended for ensuring unit combat readiness. To conceal the embezzlement and at the direction of the above named individuals, Unit Commanders Captain V. Vargatyy, Sr Lt V. Boltunov, and GSM Technical Service

Warrant Officer V. Redkin wrote off fuel for two of the unit's Ural-735 vehicles which allegedly systematically completed long scheduled trips according to fictitious trip lists.

Exactly where did this fuel disappear to afterwards?

It turned out that 1,000 liters of fuel was given to V. Konarev, a representative of a local enterprise, in exchange for pipes, a metal angle iron, and pipe fittings. M. Chernyshov, deputy chief of Agrodorstroy [Agricultural Road Construction] DPMK-2 [Mobile Road Mechanized Column] Trust received 1,200 liters in a similar manner in exchange for 64 tons of asphalt.

The first successful transactions, as they are called, gave Lt Col Tsibulskiy the freedom to act. Last Autumn, a broken-down TMK tracked vehicle was shipped from the unit to a vehicle repair plant. The unit's command staff promised the enterprise 2,500 liters of fuel to repair it. Then, on orders from Tsibulskiy and Kabakov, Warrant Officer Redkin began to create fuel surpluses at the refueling points, writing them off on fictitious trip lists for the URAL-375 automobiles. And by the end of this past January by using this method, they had accumulated 2,500 liters of fuel worth 1,000 rubles which was loaded onto a tank truck and hidden on the motor pool grounds for subsequent shipment. This fuel was found only during the course of the judge advocate's investigation.

We must say that these responsible officials were not only thinking about the needs of the unit. During the second half of 1988, Majors Kabakov and Pivovarchuk obtained fuel at no charge for their personal Zhigulis with the commander's permission. They received 1,400 liters of fuel altogether worth 560 rubles. During the course of the investigation it was established that these officers frequently used personal transportation for carrying out official supply duties. But state fuel was not burned only in the interests of duty.

As we can see, this is at face value an administrative violation. Presidium of the Supreme Soviet Decree, Article 1, dated 23 August 1983, "On Administrative Responsibility for Illegal Issue and Illegal Acquisition of Fuel or Other Petroleum Oils and Lubricants [POL]" was violated. Based on their actions, Lt Col Tsibulskiy and Majors Kabakov and Pivovarchuk were charged with violations of administrative regulations. In accordance with the law, the military district commander held these officers liable to disciplinary action. Moreover, we cautioned them about the inadmissibility of violating the law and explained that if there is a recurrence of illegal distribution of gasoline to organizations or private individuals within a year after being punished, Officers Tsibulskiy, Kabakov, and Pivovarchuk may be subject to criminal penalties.

And, besides the administrative aspect, the situation also contains social poignancy. Let us ask, why management activities which the commands of many units are all the more actively conducting today are at times coming into conflict with the law? Frequently they are simply placed in such situations. Let us take a typical situation. A facility must be erected through self-help. There is money but the building materials have not been provided for it. Where do we get bricks, cement, boards, concrete, and pipe? At an enterprise or organization which does not need hard cash but needs that gasoline or temporary use—of wheeled transportation or various construction equipment or, for carrying out unskilled labor—personnel.

The commander is faced with a difficult choice. He knows that if he resorts to those deals, it means that sooner or later he will have to deal with the judge advocate. Appeal to higher command authority regarding the impossibility of acquiring building materials with money? In the best of cases, the commander will remember: Think, find a way...

Unfortunately, all of this does not promote compliance with the law.

This story's ending is as follows: During the judge advocate's investigation, Lt Col Tsibulskiy and Majors Kabakov and Pivovarchuk voluntarily reimbursed [the state] for damage with a lump sum payment but were held financially liable and the multiple violations were taken into account.

Central Asian MD Eliminated

*18010701 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
3 Jun 89 Single Edition p 3*

[Unattributed announcement, entitled: "In the USSR Ministry of Defense]

[Text] In connection with the reduction of the USSR Armed Forces, as of 1 June 1989 the Central Asian Military District is dissolved.

The legal successor [pravopreemnikom] of the Central Asian Military District is the Turkestan Military District.

'Limited Use of Simulators' in Combat Training
18010601 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
5 Apr 89 First Edition p 1

[Article by Major I. Miroshnichenko, Correspondent-Organizer for the newspaper ZNAMYA POBEDY in the Northern Group of Forces: "Not for the Sake of Pageantry, Using Simulators More Effectively"]

[Text] Once I had occasion to attend a demonstration class, which dealt with the subject "Urban Warfare". It was an impressive spectacle. The explosions of the artillery shell burst simulators, grenade burst simulators, battle noise simulators, and trip flares blended into the cannonade. Clouds of smoke were used effectively...

Afterwards, when Major L. Klimov, the battalion deputy commander, and I attempted to estimate how many simulation devices were used to create this effect, it turned out that during one half hour, the battalion was dispossessed of enough simulation devices to conduct a great many training sessions.

On the occasion of such squandering it seems to be the right time to be worried. However, upon a more in-depth study of the issue, it became clear that we should be discussing the extremely limited use of simulation in combat training. For example, since the beginning of the year, the company, which Senior Lieutenant N. Mamatbekov commands, has received grenade burst simulators at the supply depot only twice. And nothing more. The company, where V. Ulyanich is commander, was issued illuminating flares and battle noise simulators for an exercise. But the flares were never used and were returned to the supply depot. And the reconnaissance company, which is commanded by V. Belov, generally speaking, did not use any type of simulation in training exercises. What is the matter?

First of all, it appears that there is not a methodology for using simulation devices, which has been carefully thought out and fine-tuned in practice. Information dealing with this subject is scattered throughout various training manuals and instructions. And when preparing for training exercises, most often commanders are not guided by precise calculations and scientific recommendations (such as, at what times and how many simulation devices should be used), but by a "visual" estimate. Or else they simply get by without such concerns.

There is still another stumbling block, so to speak. The fact is that receipt of simulation devices at the supply depot and then accounting for their use also causes a great deal of trouble.

Senior Warrant Officer I. Mazorov, company first sergeant, related,—If we received 100 blank cartridges at the supply depot and return 99 spent cartridge cases, even because of one missing cartridge case we will lose the right to receive cartridges for the next exercise.

It would seem that one can only praise the specialists of the missile and artillery weapons service for such rigid control, which rules out the loss of munitions and explosives and ensures the observance of safety measures. But in preventing one negative phenomenon, they have created favorable conditions for another one. I am by no means calling for the weakening of control over the use of munitions and simulation devices. But, apparently, it would be worthwhile to seriously think about improving the forms of this control. Why shouldn't the chief of the supply depot in the missile and artillery weapons service, for example, or any other specialist in this service be directly involved with this control at the training exercises? Maybe there would be less lip service in this matter and we would manage to get rid of the excessively complicated bookkeeping procedures. Obviously, there are other ways out of the situation which has been created. We just have to look for them.

For example, I failed to hear a convincing explanation from anybody in the unit, why clouds of smoke are not used in field training exercises. After all this is a reliable means of camouflage, concealment, and deception. Nevertheless, it is thought of only at large-scale field training exercises, if at all. And so during the field firing of the platoons and subunits, which took place in the companies commanded by Captain V. Ulyanich and Senior Lieutenant M. Solovyev, clouds of smoke were not used. It seems the commanders had no desire to take advantage of the opportunity to bring the training process nearer to actual combat conditions.

At the request of our editorial staff Colonel S. Mirzoyan, the assistant chief of the Northern Group of Forces combat training office, shares his thoughts about the problem which has been touched upon:

—It must be admitted that insufficient attention really is being given to the provision of simulation devices for the training process. At demonstration classes and field training exercises they often only fulfill the role of stage props and are used to create an impressive spectacle instead of an instructive tactical environment.

Currently, when we are seeking to assign primary importance to the qualitative parameters of combat training, the judicious use of simulation is regarded as an important means of raising the level of training. For example, what is the purpose of ordinary blank rounds? It is not only the crackle of automatic weapon and machine gun bursts and the rumbling of artillery volleys. For example, the troops can learn to determine the position of the "enemy" and his force composition from the sounds of the rounds being fired. From the muzzle flashes they can plot weapon emplacements and other targets. Unfortunately, during field training exercises, many commanders use neither blank rounds nor simulation devices nor signalling devices.

Recently I had occasion to be an umpire at a tactical exercise. When the defense area was prepared, I asked Major A. Averin, the commander of the engineer service regiment, how he was planning to protect the mine fields beyond the forwardmost defensive positions from mine clearing by the "enemy". The officer was unable to answer the question put to him, although because of his arm of the service, he is obliged to know how this is done. Moreover, we have an excellent device for this—trip flares. They are in every unit's supply depot. Experience in using them has also been accumulated, in particular, by those who served in Afghanistan.

Many commanders are still skeptical toward the use of simulation devices also because there is a great deal of lip service in this matter. Let us assume that a signal announcing an air raid has been heard in a tactical field training exercise. Airplanes and helicopters appear in the sky. But then they pass over the battlefield and disappear. It is unclear what they came for. And it is quite another matter, if during the "enemy's" air attack, plumes of smoke and fire from the explosions of "bombs" and "shells" are rising on the battlefield. And it

is the same thing with clouds of smoke. By way of illustration, if one does not take into account the wind direction and the site for raising a smoke screen, one can not only not facilitate his combat operation, but can even hamper them and play into the "enemy's" hands, which, incidentally, also occurs frequently.

Various services have simulation devices at their disposal—the engineer service, the missile and artillery weapons service, etc. In my opinion, it would be advisable to concentrate them in one pair of hands. A common methodology of using simulation devices under various conditions is also needed. Incidentally, we, here in the combat training office, have discussed how to use simulation more effectively in field training exercises. We are currently summarizing material on the experience of using simulation devices in Afghanistan, during the years of the Great Patriotic War, and during combat training. It will underlie our recommendations concerning the use of simulation devices at all field training exercises, as well as those concerning safety measures during their use.

**Simonov of Sukhoi Design Bureau on
Performance of SU-27**

18010613 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
7 Apr 89 First Edition p 8

[Interview with M.P. Simonov, chief designer of the Sukhoi Experimental Design Bureau, by V. Chebakov: "SU-27—Maintain Vertical"]

[Text] The chief designer's office is not large. A desk with a multitude of different colored telephones, a shelf with reference material, models, and photographs of combat aircraft, and an enormous globe—a meter or even larger in diameter. The person I am talking with, Mikhail Petrovich Simonov, heads the OKB [Experimental Design Bureau] imeni Sukhoi. For many years, little was written about people who design military equipment—it was not done and they remained in the shadows.

I am leafing through Jane's [All The World's Aircraft], the annual Anglo-American reference book on weaponry. Much is also said in it about the Sukhoi OKB [Experimental Design Bureau] and there are photographs of SU-24, SU-25, and SU-27 combat aircraft. And look at what Will Gangston, technical editor of the English magazine FLIGHT, writes in the illustrated reference book on future aircraft and fighter-aircraft which was published in London in 1984: "Although P.O. Sukhoi died long ago, his OKB obviously remains a brilliant authority in the area of designing combat aircraft and nothing confirms this thought as well as the SU-27 aircraft..."

[Simonov] Yes, they really know more about us abroad than readers do in the USSR. Very little has been said in our country about people who design combat equipment.

[Chebakov] The title of Hero of the Soviet Union was conferred on two of your design bureau's test-pilots for their great contribution to the development of aviation technology.

[Simonov] Viktor Pugachev and Nikolay Sadovnikov were awarded this exalted title.

[Chebakov] Sadovnikov and Pugachev. Who are they?

[Simonov] First of all, they are exact opposites of each other. Nikolay is tranquility and steadiness personified. They are easily distinguishable in flight, too. But up there in the air, they at times do simply impossible things. Once Sadovnikov was flying a new aircraft at low altitude and at incredibly high speed. It was a "calm before the storm" situation and the pilot's mission was as follows: operation of the aircraft's control systems at high speed and at low altitude. Such a flight is always associated with exposure to high turbulence and other symptoms of thermal activity in the atmosphere. The aircraft tore into a powerful down draft at enormous speed and the loads were higher than permissible. The left outboard section of the wing was cut off as if by a

knife. All of this occurred within a fraction of a second—a sudden blow, a right bank, and the aircraft was hurtling downward with a 3.5 positive G force. Nikolay's first thought was that the vertical stabilizer was severely damaged. During the next instant, the aircraft hurtled upward with the same force and in a reverse bank. The aircraft could not be controlled, the engines were as before roaring on afterburner, and he needed to eject. Incidentally, I would like to point out that the K-36 ejection seat, developed under the guidance of Professor and Doctor of Engineering Sciences Gay Ilich Severin, is the best and most reliable in the world. It can save a pilot even in the most difficult situation. For 22 years this seat, which all of our air force's combat aircraft are equipped with, "has pulled" many people "back from the brink."

But, having touched the ejection seat handles, Sadovnikov sensed that things were not all that bad. The aircraft could survive and it was controllable. The pilot understood this within a fraction of a second. While rocking on the aircraft's wild trajectory, he managed to gain altitude, swing around, and "settle down" the aircraft. Afterwards, he scanned [the aircraft] and... "I did not believe my eyes," Sadovnikov told us later, "The left outboard section of the wing was not there..." In sum, Nikolay landed the aircraft and, in doing this, gave us that abundant material which helped us improve the aircraft and make it more survivable. He could have ejected but then there would have been a pile of wreckage and work would have stopped for a minimum of six months. Incidentally, PRAVDA published something about this incident.

[Chebakov] Mikhail Petrovich, what can you tell us about Pugachev?

[Simonov] Viktor is a man who works through all the maximum, and therefore, the dangerous modes. He is a man of iron: The aircraft's engines are shut down at an altitude of 20,000 meters—that was according to plan. The pilot's natural desire is to restart them, but that is impossible. According to plan, they automatically turn themselves back on at an altitude of 11-12,000 meters. And if they do not? Pugachev calmly "dropped" until they turned themselves back on. Test pilots have this expression "to maintain vertical" when an aircraft goes supersonic while in a vertical climb. The pilot is required to have thorough mastery. That is what Pugachev, Sadovnikov, and other OKB test pilots—Oleg Tsoy and Yevgeniy Forlov—know how to do, maintain the vertical. This proved to be very useful while setting world records.

Test pilots have set 21 records in the P-42 aircraft which have been confirmed by the International Aviation Federation (FAI). Why do we need records?—The F-15, F-104, B-52, and KC-135—all of these aircraft bear the trademark of Boeing, McDonnell Douglas, or Lockheed, well-known first-rate aviation firms. We can put Soviet aircraft of approximately the same parameters up against

each one of these. There is an on-going competition of ideas, technology levels, and aerodynamics. How do we ensure, in peace time, that this level is sufficient? That is why we establish records on maximum ratings.

Several years ago, the holders of these records were predominantly American pilots. Now Sukhoi OKB pilots have broken many of them in the P-42. For example, the F-15 Eagle's time-to-height record to 3,000 meters was 27.751 seconds. Pugachev climbed to this altitude in 25.4 seconds. Certain records have been established for the first time in the history of world aviation.

[Chebakov] You are saying that this aircraft has set a world standard?

[Simonov] Yes, I am saying that. [Aircraft] designers, metallurgists, electronics experts, and engine manufacturers deserve credit for this. Incidentally, the R-32 engines were developed at the KB [Design Bureau] imeni A.M. Lyulki, where the chief designer is V.M. Chepkin, doctor of engineering sciences and Lenin Prize laureate. We thank them very much for the engines. And, of course, the test pilots worked hard.

[Chebakov] Six coworkers of your OKB were awarded the State Prize for the SU-25?

[Simonov] Yes, V. Babak, P. Lyrshchikov, V. Nikolskiy, S. Nazarenko, Yu. Ryabyshkin, and A. Blinov became laureates. Thus, we had a double holiday in our collective.

[Chebakov] INTERAVIA magazine wrote: "Improvements in aerodynamics, "fly-by-wire" systems, two large engines, missile armament, and a radar system capable of seeing God, this is how the SU-27 "Flanker" is equipped. And AIR FORCE Magazine made an assumption that the P-42 aircraft is a specially prepared variant of the SU-27 fighter aircraft.

[Simonov] Yes, it is a Su-27 which is lighter and [specially] prepared to set records.

[Chebakov] Our country's aircraft industry took part in air shows in the United States, England, and Australia for the first time. The MIG-29 was demonstrated for the first time at the English Farnborough Air Show. Are there any plans to display any other modern combat aircraft from your OKB besides the SU-26M acrobatic competition aircraft?

[Simonov] We have already decided to demonstrate our SU-25 fighter at the traditional air show at Le Bourges in France.

The hours of this conversation with this man, whom every journalist obviously dreams about interviewing, flew by. And the chief designer did not say one word

about himself. Another thing is important—the traditions established by P.O. Sukhoi are living, developing, and moving ahead with the speed of a fighter aircraft. While saying good-bye to Simonov, I saw a model of a new... passenger aircraft on Mikhail Petrovich's desk.

Air Force Transports Aid Civilian Sector
18290192 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 30 May 89 Second Edition p 4

[Report by SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA special correspondent N. Dombkovskiy: "Cherries Instead of Tanks"]

[Text] Burgas—Moscow—In the first year at the institute a quarter of a century ago, we asked a question of a well-known designer of military equipment:

"How will the cost of your product change if you erect two buildings with 60 apartments, a school and a hospital with your budget?"

The eminent scientist paused for a second, then he said:

"Not at all, generally speaking."

This is how I found out for the first time how much it costs to provide for the country's security. It is impossible to have even a rough idea of the astronomical resources that have been spent on military equipment over the past decades and how our standard of living would have been increased had these funds been invested in the national economy. But it was impossible to forgo defense capability during the "cold war" years. And only the new approach to international relations and the changed political climate in the world have made it possible to make use of some military equipment for civilian needs now. And military transport pilots of the USSR VVS [Air Forces] were one of the first to begin this work.

My associates in Aeroflot will forgive me, but a military transport aircraft differs from its civilian version roughly in the same way that a tank differs from a tractor. Everything seems to be the same—the engines, the wing, the similar fuselage. But the tasks and the conditions under which they have to be carried out are immeasurably more complicated. For this reason, VTA [military transport aviation] aircraft have been provided with the latest equipment for communications and navigation. Military pilots have been trained to fly under practically any weather conditions.

We were to make the so-called "fruit" run on the Moscow-Burgas-Moscow route with Lt Col Yuriy Bashashkin and his crew. The military transport pilots are increasing the number of flights each day, bringing fruits and vegetables from Bulgaria's new harvest. Each flight carries 30 tons of the produce. In the gardens in the morning and on the shop counters in the evening.

The sky was clear over Moscow, and the visibility was unlimited, as they say. But broken clouds appeared beneath us near Odessa and we got into dense fog on the approach to Burgas. And this is where I saw the military transport pilots in action.

The navigator, Maj Aleksey Bodryy, in whose cabin I had been given a seat, continuously calculated the coordinates and passed them to the pilots. And there on the second deck of the huge transport, in response to the navigator's commands, Lt Col Bashashkin and copilot Yuriy Utrobin brought the aircraft toward the ground. The rate of descent was 30 meters per second. As a comparison, if a stone is dropped from the 10th floor, which is 30 meters, it will reach the ground in 3 seconds! But here there are many dozens of tons of the most complex machinery which must be controlled faultlessly by reacting to changes in the situation in a fraction of a second...

However, Squadron Commander Yuriy Viktorovich Bashashkin is not unaccustomed to flights under instrument conditions. I recall his work in Armenia, where his crew delivered cargoes for the earthquake victims. He made impossible landings in Afghanistan, not long before the complete withdrawal of our temporary limited contingent. The other six members of the crew are a match for the commander.

Finally, our aircraft, made by the Academician G. V. Novozhilov KV [Design Bureau], came out of the clouds at a very low altitude. On the right, the fairytale city of Nesebur flashed by, and the houses of Burgas appeared beneath us, then they were replaced by emerald fields with small islands of crimson poppies, and then the Il [Ilyushin aircraft] was rolling on the runway. Before we had taxied to the parking space, servicing vehicles were moving toward the aircraft and a nimble electric tractor was pulling carts with containers.

We chat with the commander during the unloading and loading.

"On one hand, I am very happy that I have had to work on such commercial flights, of course," Yuriy Viktorovich says. "We conduct training flights, train crews, and consume fuel just the same. And if we are now carrying hundreds of tons of vitamins without taking a ton of fuel from Aeroflot's supply, this is unquestionably a big help to the national economy. But on the other hand, as a military man, the organization of the work does not entirely suit me. Have you noticed? We were held up for an hour and a half before departing Moscow. And it is this way every day. The ground services are continuously late. As a result, the crews cannot rest as they should and the transport schedules are disrupted."

I cannot help but agree with Bashashkin. And this is confirmed by Aeroflot's representative in Burgas, N. P. Kholodov.

"There are more and more flights each day," Nikolay Petrovich said. "There is no question that it is hard to overrate the assistance of the military transport aircraft. Judge for yourselves: 100 tons of berries and fruits were flown from Burgas to the USSR in all of last year. But now the military transport aircraft have already carried 1,200 tons in two weeks! But after all, the season is just beginning. In my opinion, the customers have simply turned out to be unprepared to receive such a flow of cargo, believing that the work would be handled in the old way. Though things will sort themselves out gradually. But there are disruptions. And first of all we need to shift the air bridge to container transport. Only containers provide for the complete safety of the cargo and flight safety and they reduce the downtimes of equipment to a minimum."

Generally speaking, we need to point out that the civilian clients of military transport aviation will have to bear in mind that work with the military requires particular efficiency. Not only in delivering cargoes, but in ground services as well. The machine builders who made use of military aircraft the other day, for example, were able to organize their work so that the giant An-124's practically did not lose an hour. As a consequence, the customers made a saving in the lease and military transport aircraft operated in their usual routine.

Well, it is obvious that military transport aviation also must take the different conditions for equipment operation into account. As an example, there were difficulties with maintenance of the aircraft in Moscow.

In the evening, when we returned to Moscow, the aircraft began unloading practically at once. I do not know if this was because a correspondent from a central newspaper was on board or whether the customers had been able to put the airport-to-store production line in order. We hope it was the latter, especially as in the morning—I checked personally—fresh cherries from Bulgaria appeared in the capital's stores.

I would like to say one more thing. Commerce has rapidly found its bearings in Moscow and Leningrad—these cities are receiving fresh produce. But I think it would be useful in other populated areas in the Far North, the Urals, and the Far East as well.

Armaments, Capabilities of MI-28

18010698 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
1 Jun 89 First Edition p 4

[Article by Colonel V. Morov: "MI-28 in the Sky"]

[Text] A combat helicopter will be on display alongside other equipment for the first time in the Soviet section of the exposition at the International Aerospace Show which opens in France on 8 June. This currently little known aircraft, the MI-28, will become the calling card of our combat helicopter construction industry.

Having compared the tactical and technical characteristics of foreign combat helicopters, even non-experts point out: The AH-64 Apache which entered into the inventory of the U.S. Armed Forces approximately five years ago, exceeds its numerous and various shaped rotary winged colleagues in a number of important parameters (static hovering ceiling, normal flight ceiling, and maneuverability) and weapons capability. An expert, having evaluated the information as a whole, will say: The combat effectiveness of the Apache is several times higher than other foreign helicopters.

We think that the fact that the MI-28, developed by designers at the design bureau imeni M.L. Mil, compares with the Apache, and emerges as the leader in this comparison makes it all the more weighty.

Let us say, in a purely arithmetical expression, the MI-28 has the same armament as the AH-64: Guided and unguided missiles and a rapid-fire cannon. But our fire support helicopter carries more powerful missiles. And the cannon is of a different caliber—it has a more powerful 30 mm cannon. Its projectile is heavier and its muzzle velocity is higher. The cannon is located in an under fuselage location so that it has greater mobility in the horizontal (plus or minus 110 degrees) and in the vertical plane. In other words, with its fire it can destroy enemy personnel and fire power both directly on its course and on its flanks. The cannon is also effective in close air-to-air combat.

There is no other helicopter today that has the combat survivability of the MI-28. In this regard, its survivability factor is 5 to 6 times greater than its predecessor, the MI-24. Highly durable armor was used during design of the cockpit with a completely armored compartment. The designers succeeded in modularizing the MI-28 so that the more important elements are shielded by the less important ones. There are many redundant systems. Both engines practically cannot be rendered inoperable by one shot. Hits by bullets and shrapnel will not result in explosion of the fuel tanks, fire, or extensive fuel leaks.

Combat experience has convinced us that a pilot far from always succeeds in extending the landing gear during an emergency landing from comparatively low altitude. The MI-28's landing gear is not retracted during flight and, thanks to its special design, it is capable of weakening the force when the aircraft strikes the ground. In combination with the energy absorbing seats in the cockpit, this ensures the crew's survival during an extreme landing.

Equipped with more powerful engines than the Apache, the MI-28 is not inferior to Apache in speed or maneuverability and has approximately the same service ceiling and a higher static flight ceiling.

The aircraft's creators were primarily concerned that the MI-28 would be convenient and simple to service. Military engineers and technicians are already running into

a number of pleasant surprises during their first acquaintance with the helicopter. The aircraft is sort of low to the ground and it is considerably lower than the MI-24. For example, the tail boom is located at chest level on a man. Do we have to say how easy inspection and servicing is. The new helicopter has been well prepared for operations under autonomous conditions outside of the airfield. The equipment necessary for this is located on the aircraft.

Composite materials and elastomers were extensively used during design of the helicopter. For example, the all-plastic five-bladed main rotor and tail rotor permits us to reduce weight and increase operating life and combat survivability. With more powerful armament and greater armor protection, the MI-28 is lighter than the MI-24.

From the first drawing and the first blueprint, the MI-28 was designed to be a two-seater. The crew is deployed in tandem: ahead and below is the navigator-operator and behind him is the pilot. There is the traditional division of crew duties for combat helicopters: one pilots the aircraft and the other directs the weapons. We wanted to particularly emphasize this. During the 80's, the idea of creating a single-seat combat helicopter authoritatively expressed itself. It is possible in principle. The only question is: With the present degree of automation of flying processes, target search, and weapons direction, is the pilot capable of utilizing the aircraft's complete combat potential.

There is no doubt about one thing: The MI-28 is a high-class aircraft meeting all modern technological canons.

I am sure that while demonstrating the Soviet helicopter in the air over France the distinguished USSR test-pilot Guren Rubenovich Karapetyan and navigator Viktor Vladimirovich Tsygankov will be proud of its priorities. It will be good if we do not have to part with these feelings at all other international exhibitions. Not only aviation exhibitions. And not only while displaying combat equipment.

MIG-29 Crash At Paris Air Show Noted

*18010710 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
9 Jun Single Edition p 3*

[TASS article; "Disaster At The Exhibition In Le Bourget"]

[Text] On June 8th in France at the International Air and Space Exhibition in Le Bourget, a MIG-29 fighter crashed during the completion of a demonstration flight.

The plane came down in the region of the runway. The pilot, Anatoliy Kvochur, ejected and is in good condition. There was no damage caused to the airfield facilities.

Capabilities of Deep-sea Diving Apparatus Noted
*18010707 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in
Russian 21 Apr 89 p 1*

[TASS fotochronicle;untitled]

[Text] The scientific research vessel Akademik Mstislav Keldysh has completed its 17th cruise in the course of which testing on new deepwater inhabitable diving apparatuses was conducted.

These new apparatuses possess a host of advantages over similar apparatuses—the French Nautilus, and the American Seacraft. Foremost among these is a maximum diving depth on the order of 6,000 meters. Ninety-nine percent of the surface of the world's oceans do not exceed this depth. With the help of the new apparatuses it is possible to study more than 20 characteristics of the water, deep-sea fans (donnyy shleyf), and sedimentary rock, and is possible to take samples with special manipulators. It can take still photos and video footage, and can conduct underwater drilling and other works.

1960 Missile Test Disaster Detailed
18070635 Moscow OGONYEK in Russian
No 16, 15-22 Apr 89 pp 10-14

[Article by OGONYEK Special Correspondent A. Bolotin: "Site Ten"]

[Text]

When We Were Young...

It is the 1960's... Our homeland's nuclear missile shield is being created with difficulty and severity, and in conditions of deepest secrecy. An outstanding Soviet military leader, Chief Marshal of Artillery Mitrofan Ivanovich Nedelin, Deputy USSR Minister of Defense and Commander in Chief of the Missile Forces, is one of its prominent founders.

This story is about him and about those who shall forever remain where this tragic event took place, who paid with the cost of their lives for the balance achieved in the two superpowers' defense capabilities. I did not deviate from my personal memoirs in this story and it remains only to thank our times which allow us to return to that distant, difficult, but excellent time.

"I approach various years, I toss and turn, cannot get a wink of sleep, and it seems to me,—I am leaving for a very great war," this poetic line with refrain beats into me in time with the click of the wheels and I am really tossing and turning on the upper berth of the reserved seating car and rose-colored shadows run outside the window like a reflection burning from the setting of the sun, the kind that occurs only on the canvases of *Reikh* or *Rockwell Kent*, and it certainly seems to us that we are leaving for the great war albeit because there are many military people on the train with gold cannons on their black collar tabs—the traditional emblem of artillerymen and missileers.

And the sky, encompassed by the sunset, burns on the horizon. ...This is the sky of our youth, our fears, and hopes!

It is becoming quite dark beyond the Aral Sea, the shadows are disappearing, a night coolness is creeping through the window, and I am trying to fall asleep but, of course, I do not succeed in falling asleep because the sleeping car is slowly beginning to move, the lights of *Kazalinsk* are already twinkling dots in the night, an awakened child is crying, doors frequently bang in the car's vestibule, impatience rises up in the passengers—almost three days have passed since the express train began covering the distance from Moscow to these sun scorched, godforsaken Kazakhstan steppes. Tyura-Tam Station...

Only after many years was it ascertained that the translation of Tyura-Tam from the Kazakh language means "sacred place," a Mazar [Islamic holy place] is located here—a saint's burial monument which also predetermined the station's name. Who would have thought about that then?

At that time, the currently universally well-known sonorous names had not become widely disseminated—Baykonur Cosmodrome, Zvezdograd, and Leninsk... Each population center had its numerical designation: Site Ten—housing area, Site Nine—airfield, Site Two—work area, Site Thirteen...—naturally, the cemetery. By the way, I am simplifying this diagram somewhat, there were many more sites: at the site of the "great desert wastelands" in those years, missile launchers grew up like mushrooms after the rain, man was striving to get into outer space from here, and man learned how to master awesome missile weaponry.

Site Ten's [foundation] was laid on 5 March 1955—large military construction subunits were sent here and equipment and experts were rushed here from the first Soviet missile test range at Kapustin Yar, and the headquarters of the new test range began operating. Thousands of military personnel made themselves at home at Tyura-Tam.

But why are we civilian personnel in particular here?

We are the Moscow Factory rabble from Balashikha and Odintsov, Potylikha and Marinyy Grove, Rostov, Golutvinsk, and Rogozhka Lanes, as a rule, not burdened by family ties, "horseless" as our older colleagues called us, urgently recruited in plain buildings without signs, distinguished from each other by "post office box" numbers where dashing personnel section chiefs with the bearing of military personnel sent us, after the necessary lengthy checks, on multi-month temporary assignments for construction of strange and secret facilities where it turns out we could not get by without the skills of welders, riggers, mechanics, and compressor operators, people of the most varied and generally the most prosaic professions.

Early spring is the best time of year here: The sweltering summer heat has still not arrived, early morning frosts are cleared by the cool wind, you can catch sight of red and yellow tulips here and there on the steppe, and a strikingly rich blue has been diffused in the sky. How easily and freely you breathe on these days! We sang some sort of unsophisticated ditty made up by somebody to the simplest tune and with such ecstasy in which there were such words as: "The sands are falling asleep, the nights are cold there, haloxylon grows there, imported water, Tyura-Tam, Tyura-Tam, we will never forget you."

Site Two, later named the Gagarin Launch Complex, has been described and shown on television and at the movies many times. How many times did I, with the help

of my comrades and a crane, remove or knit together and set in place a steel latticed structure of "power belt" girders after launches—they are quite recognizable when they fall like petals of an unusual fire "flower" during a missile lift-off. But I have never seen what is under the horizon of a launch pad protective covering in the angle of a movie or television camera, and it is exactly a labyrinth of equipment rooms stuffed with complex cable systems, various equipment, and instruments which ensure the life activity of the unique engineering installation that is a space-vehicle launching site. There is its unseen to the world kingdom with steep steel stairways and resonant concrete passages where it is always cool and thick-walled, calculated for super-high pressure, and non-corrosive pipes endlessly stretch out.

There, in my usual work place, I became acquainted with a lieutenant in the room which was then tentatively called "hexahedron."

I really liked lieutenants of that time, we were the same age, they were so cocky and uncompromising with such bright boyish faces, the same as us, in essence, so defenseless before time and destiny.

At times, we civilians had complicated relations with the lieutenants. First of all, many of the riggers had already finished serving in the Army and, experiencing a slight headiness from not being subject to military discipline, generally looked at all people with shoulder-straps in a haughty manner, secondly, each of us was a bit boastful of his position—however, we had also arrived from the capital itself, and, besides that, they were also paying us a great deal of money which means we were quite indispensable. The lieutenants, judging by everything, did not receive much money or the earthly temptations accessible to us during our infrequent but regular absences to Moscow and we kept our distance from them. It seemed to me that their days flowed into a continuous workaday chain: during the day—work at the launch pad, at night—the officer's dormitory with small joys of either a movie or a game of preference [card game]. I think, based on these circumstances, they did not feel any special love for us, either.

But, when preparations for a missile launch were proceeding at full speed, we had to forget about movies and preference [card game] because the work day frequently turned into a work night, and all of us—both civilians and military—automatically joined into a single whole, and we also lived on the same schedule which dictated to each of us to be very prompt and precise. Work brought us closer and there was no time for sorting out attitudes.

Once during this pre-launch fever at our "hexahedron," the pressure fell in the pipe system which, at the moment of missile lift-off, sprays liquid nitrogen to knock down the powerful flame shooting out the engine nozzles. We had to quickly find and eliminate the leak which had formed. It was nothing new to me but the lieutenant, who had just joined the system combat crew, had a blank

look on his face and was looking wide-eyed at the complicated knots of pipe connections, injectors, safety valves, and other intricate "pieces."

I rapidly explained to him what needed to be done and we, on hands and knees in places and skinning our elbows on sharp concrete ledges, carefully inspected each flange connection and each welded joint during the course of several hours. I saw that the lieutenant clearly did not have the knack for it since he painfully hit his head on the projecting brackets several times and, at the same time, ripped his coveralls and almost lost his hat in the artful design of pipes. I wanted to call him a young inexperienced sailor but restrained myself. We looked for the leak, coating each joint with a soapy lather and, when the very fine unseen by the naked eye trickle bubbled up, the lieutenant and I suddenly burst out laughing with relief. Afterwards, we crawled out into broad daylight in the smoking area and warmed ourselves in the sun for a long time—dirty, tattered, with hands beaten to a bloody pulp, and with bumps and bruises on our faces. All of this was bliss...

The lieutenant and I became friends.

And, as a matter of fact, we did have something to share—children of one age, born in the same memorable year when lights often burned in the windows of homes at night and people flinched, expecting an ominous call or knock on the door. This era contained within it the pompous reading of the unshakable Truths and a horrible war, having taken our fathers away from us, the post-war famine with the single thought in the literal sense to survive, and the candy and spice-cake hypocrisy of pioneer gatherings where "To the struggle for Lenin's cause—Stalin is always ready" (One can imagine a pioneer, ready for the cause of Stalin). This era contained within it a badly organized way of life, communal kitchens, and even promised communism to our generation which should arrive sometime towards the end of the next seven-year plan, was taken on faith because they had broken us of thinking since our school-days, supposedly drumming into our heads that the history of our state was a continuous enumeration of "grandiose achievements and progress."

But we piously believed in high ideals...

The Evacuation

On hot Sunday evenings, when Site Ten rested in sweet languor, an orchestra played on the bank of the Syrdarya River in a small bandstand. The bandstand was painted a shade of faded blue and was located at the end of a just recently laid out park, was lit by lights, and was connected to a small dance floor—a gathering place for local pigeons and the few residents of a women's dormitory located nearby. Waltzes and fox-trots swam over a river grown shallow, sometimes the wind which flew in from the steppe would carry the aroma of shashlik which they roasted here right on the mangal [brazier], and an

illusory sensation of some sort of health spa tranquility would involuntarily come over you. When we had the opportunity, the lieutenant and I also lounged around here.

It seemed to me that the lieutenant and I did not get enough of the sea in Tyura-Tam.

I, because at that time I still had never seen it in my whole life and the lieutenant for another reason—he was born in a small southern town where the morning shift of porters mixed with the crowds of those relaxing and running on the beach, and at night at the entrance to the road, the large passenger ships adorned with lights importantly blared, having made a short stopover here.

I recall in those days that I discovered Paustovskiy for myself and the sea came into me together with Boris Pasternak's poetic line, seized by the writer with an epigraph to one of his brilliant stories—"Everything becomes boring since you have no right to become overly familiar...."

I took the volume of Paustovskiy with me on a business trip. The lieutenant asked me to give it to him to read and, when he returned the book several days later, I suddenly vowed that I must go to Yalta on my very first leave. At night, if of course I was lucky, I would try to see the window of Chekhov's office lit by a lamp with a green lamp shade from the sea's edge through a pair of binoculars.

The lieutenant was a bit of a romantic... But to honestly speak of his feelings to us, naturally, would have been unacceptable then.

Where will a cosmodrome rigger find lodging for the night, what roof will protect him? Maybe in the "Wooden" Hotel at Site Ten, where that unfortunate figure, the well-known traitor Penkovskiy frequently roomed in his time, or I will go to the Chaykovskiy Hall—that is what we called the enormous, carelessly thrown together barracks on one of the sites, it did not have any partitions in it, and several hundred men could rest as if in a single bedroom.

At night, "Chaykovskiy Hall" moaned in its sleep, sobbed, gritted its teeth, snored, chewed something, cried, and a mighty symphony with decibels of 500 good male throats spilled forth under its arches. Home-made night-lights gleamed maliciously like fireflies in the dark. They were made from tortoiseshells boiled in a bucket and had miniature lamps screwed into their impenetrable shells in place of their internal organs. This was a universal passion of all at the cosmodrome's sites—thanks to the suitable raw materials crawling at our feet.

It is easy to understand our state of mind when the work team was unexpectedly transferred to Site Two and after the "Musical Hall," we ended up in a prestigious three-story hotel where they normally lodged the cosmodrome's elite—academician S.P. Korolev's and V.P. Barmin's KB [Design Bureau] engineering test teams. Here they lived no more than four men per room.

In the end, it was the Spring of 1960, the cosmodrome was preparing for the launch of the first spacecraft—sputnik, the hotels were overcrowded, and each morning buses with scientists, testers, and riggers left for the launch pad. During this period, main operations were concentrated in the assembly and testing structure where the missile's sections were joined and all of its systems were tested. But a white Volga with license plate 00-01, Sergey Pavlovich Korolev's personal vehicle, sometimes rushed out even to us at the launch pad protective covering.

A retinue of military men usually walked behind Korolev. It included two colonels—Yevgeniy Ilich Ostashev, chief of the test section, and Aleksandr Ivanovich Nosov, leader of the launch team. In Ostashev, you could sense a cab driver from that type of person who becomes intoxicated with the business which he is engaged in. Years later, when I had the opportunity to get more closely acquainted with his biography, I understood that I was not mistaken then. A capable lad from the village of Kudinov near Moscow, now the city of Elektrougli, he studied at Noginsk School in the 1930's, had time for everything, and got carried away by everything. He was an excellent chess player and an inveterate amateur photographer, read books about outer space, wrote reviews in *TEKHNIKA—MOLODEZHI* [Technology for Youth] and *ZNANIYE-SILA* [Knowledge Is Strength] magazines. Ostashev went right to the front from his school-days and finished the war as a company commander with the rank of senior lieutenant.

The cosmodrome officers group was highly commended for the launch of the first artificial Earth satellite in 1957. Thirty-three-year old Yevgeniy Ostashev then became a Lenin Prize Laureate. He was awarded an academic degree, candidate of technical sciences, without defending a thesis.

I remember Colonel Nosov well, this military intellectual wearing glasses was eternally hurrying somewhere with papers or reading an order in front of a formation of officers. They say that he and Korolev nearly had a fight.

Sergey Pavlovich, who could quite unexpectedly point out to a minister: "And you can just be quiet. It is precisely you who understand less of this matter than everyone else," suddenly discovered that some colonel was severely reprimanding workers of Sergey Pavlovich's design bureau and suggesting that shortcomings, detected during missile system tests, be eliminated immediately. Korolev had a lot of power, but naturally, it had definite limitations on the military. Nevertheless,

tortured by sleepless nights and having experienced enormous nervous tension, he demanded: "Remove Nosov from the site or there will be no results." They succeeded, with great difficulty, in persuading him not to make hasty conclusions and convinced him that all of the colonel's "faultfinding" was to the benefit of the mission. To Sergey Pavlovich's credit, when everything was behind and the first intercontinental ballistic missile, which is what we are talking about, was accepted into the inventory, he was the first to apologize to Nosov and even thanked him for his principled and meticulous approach.

Aleksandr Ivanovich Nosov was the launch officer for the missile launch which carried the first artificial Earth satellite into orbit on the night of 4-5 October, 1957. It was he who gave the commands and announced the ten and five minute readinesses in the bunker. It was he who almost screamed "Launch!" at the historic moment. The Colonel was awarded the title Hero of Socialist Labor for that historic space victory.

We were able to get comfortable at the Site Two hotel, even more so since we were living three to a four-man room, all of us, besides myself there was Sasha Ryabtsev, he and I worked together in Moscow at the Dorkhimzavod [Dorogomilovskiy khimicheskiy zavod imeni M.V. Frunze -the Dorogomilovskiy Chemical Plant imeni M.V. Frunze], and Vitya Stokov, I do not remember but it seems to me he was from somewhere near Moscow. We did not go to the cafeteria in the evenings, Vitya was an excellent cook, and we trusted him completely to purchase food for the common pot and to prepare dinner on an electric stove. But work was the main thing.

I was surprised and happy to feel that I was needed at the launch pad protective covering and, having been raised over the steppe on powerful concrete supports between which the smooth curve of a screen, which reflects the missile engines flaming plumes at the moment of launch, could be seen moving away several dozen meters below and, above me, an intricate pyramid was being raised among the antenna shafts of the "power belt's" servicing girders and cable mast. During calm spring evenings when the wind subsided and twilight softly fell on the launch site, the lieutenant and I frequently sat somewhere on the superstructure—we were drilling, fitting, or adjusting something...

Below in the command post booth, they turned on a rebroadcast of a soccer match from Moscow and homesickness welled up at such times. I could clearly see a crowd of well-dressed people moving out from the Metro station on the Crimea Bridge and waiters in white jackets carrying mugs of Czech beer at the Pilzen Restaurant and they are playing music near the Moscow River and lighting street lights somewhere on the Arbat or Yaki-manka. And you are here, thousands of kilometers from Moscow, hanging on a rigger's belt over a desolate, uninhabited steppe, you are preparing for something and waiting for something....

How offended we were when we had completed all launch preparations, the missile booster was being transported to the launch pad, the combat readiness was announced, and they suspended our passes to the "protective covering," they would say you have completed your business, go for a walk, relax, do what you like, only do not bother us. The launch pad as a whole was placed under the control of the military and testers from Korolev's KB [Design Bureau]. I was outrageously envious of the lieutenant who immediately became serious and concerned and his crew left for the shelter on 30-minute readiness. This is why we so hated the word—evacuation.

I was forced to evacuate twice in my life. The first time was in the Autumn of 1941 when I, a three-year old, was transported from Moscow to Syzran, having been saved from the fascists advancing on the city; the second time was in January, 1960 when we were transported in a special railroad train from Site Two to the "third rise," about 20 kilometers away, fearing that the missile would stage a prank during launch and would begin beating its own, as they say, to scare strangers. If I could not protest the first time due to youth, the second time, being completely grown, I sensed the humiliation of this unpleasant procedure as if I, like a pregnant woman or a feeble old person, was being transported a little farther away from a dangerous place where, meanwhile, the remaining people are real men ready for anything. Therefore, when the local broadcast loudspeaker which hung in our hotel room announced on the evening of the eve of the launch that an evacuation of all personnel was set for 8 a.m., we in the room, having consulted among ourselves, firmly resolved: We are not going anywhere.

But we had to be conducting specific work in order to do this. During the evening, having glanced into neighboring rooms under a plausible pretext, we suddenly reported that we were going to Site Ten during the night, hoping that this information would reach the female building superintendent who would arrive in the morning with a patrol to seal up the hotel.

Early on the morning of 15 May, the hotel returned to life, the sound of many feet and slamming of doors could be heard in the hallway, and we, having stealthily looked out the window, saw that people were leaving the hotel and were rushing to the motor vehicle stop. Finally, the patrol arrived—an officer, several riflemen, and the duty building superintendent was with them. Somewhere below, on the first or second floor, the woman opened and locked the rooms in sequence, but we, holding our breath, waited until they climbed up to our floor.

It was a bit of a fright when the inspector came up to our door, but the building custodian, jingling the keys, confidently stated: "These people left for Site Ten yesterday," and the patrol's enthusiasm had also certainly run short on the third floor. Several minutes passed and we heard the engine of the duty bus rumble as it moved

away from the hotel. Now, locked in a sealed hotel, the three of us remained in an absolutely uninhabited town less than two kilometers from the launch pad.

If my memory does not fail me, the launch was set for 12 o'clock local time. Talking loudly and even humming something, we ran out into the corridor to see how convenient it would be to see the climbing missile. But, alas, there was only one window at the end of the corridor in the direction of the launch pad which we opened, but it was dangerous to lean out of it. And buses were already going from the launch pad protective covering to observation points and various shelters—the launch team was gradually leaving the cosmodrome.

The day was gloomy, time passed slowly, only at 11:30 a.m. did several Volgas race along the concrete pad—signifying that the last testers were leaving the launch pad, and high-ranking generals, including the Chief Designer and Marshals, were obviously at that moment already climbing down into the bunker located alongside the launch pad protective covering. We only had to wait a bit longer...

I have had the opportunity to be present at many missile launches, but this one on 15 March 1960 left the sharpest impression. Although we did not see anything and only heard it, this was quite enough for us, the people who are generally far from outer space, to understand once and for all what a space vehicle rocket booster actually is. At first, we did not catch sight of it but quickly perceived a sharp flash reflected on the wall of a neighboring building, after that the thunder began to swell, it seemed to have no limits, it seemed as if it was trying to climb into the air around our hotel building and it was succeeding in doing this. I only remember our wild eyes appealing to each other in the limited space of the corridor as we involuntarily sat at the window, hunching our shoulders, and how great the shock was since, even now, 29 years later, I get shivers up and down my spine when I recall those half-conscious seconds. In that split second, I understood that man had created something unearthly, majestic, and formidable, and God forbid that he should at some point lose control over this startling and awesome wonder.

Marshal Nedelin

I remember that I observed this ritual moment: Having returned from an evacuation after a successful launch, the "lesson" is quickly packed up, rushed to the airfield to fly home to Moscow, ready automobiles impatiently signal outside the window, and simultaneously, not far from our three-story hotel near the long squat barracks, Chief Designer Korolev and Commander in Chief of the Missile Forces Marshal Nedelin, two tired men after arduous work, were unhurriedly strolling to where the HF [High Frequency] telephones were located, obviously anticipating a conversation with the Kremlin and talking among themselves.

None of us ever saw Mitrofan Ivanovich Nedelin in a marshal's uniform. He most often walked or drove through the sites in a leather or fur jacket and breeches with wide bright red stripes which were tucked into boots. They said that he was unaffected and accessible in his dealings with subordinates, someone had seen him sitting in conversation with soldiers, someone said that he unceremoniously asked a rigger for a knife and he himself had skillfully opened a can of food, casually eating right at the launch pad protective covering one night.

Nedelin belonged to that most respected cohort of Soviet military leaders who, having unconditionally accepted the revolution and having started their military biographies on the fronts of the Civil War, day after day and year after year, passed over the difficult warrior's path with their Soviet Country and earned their Marshal's stars.

Years later, when I was interested in learning more details about the marshal's life and had the opportunity to talk with his colleagues and relatives, it revealed the unusual destiny of this man, whose life was pretty well blown about in his youth, before the dashing Borisoglebsk lad's broad path to the future opened.

All of the complications of Mitrofan Ivanovich's biography are set forth in detail in General V.F. Tolubko's book "Nedelin," published in 1979 in the series "Lives of Remarkable People." This book also traces how he worked his way up from young commander to experienced military leader, founder of our country's missile forces, from an assistant political instructor of a battery to Grand Marshal of Artillery and Deputy Minister of Defense of the USSR, and member of the State Commissions for Nuclear Weapons Testing in the USSR and for Testing of the First Intercontinental Multi-stage [Ballistic] Missile in the world.

He was a handsome, determined, and courageous and his Spanish odyssey particularly impresses me when, over a prolonged period of time, submitting report after report, Nedelin sought an assignment as an advisor to the Heroic Republic to help the freedom-loving Spanish people. Obviously, a halo of romanticism and the professional conviction that a military man must always be in the heat of battle hung over his military destiny. This quality always distinguishes true knights of military art.

During the Great Patriotic War, artilleryman Nedelin frequently looked death in the face and in 1941, as a brigade commander, he repelled an enemy tank attack near Proskurov during fierce battles in defense of the Caucasus, in the Yassy-Kishinev Operation [Yassy, Romania], and in the Balkans Offensive. He was awarded the title Hero of the Soviet Union for the Lake Balaton [Hungary] Operation. In this last defensive engagement of the last war, Nedelin's artillerymen met the Tigers and Panthers [tanks] with heavy continuous fire and turned them into shapeless piles of twisted and

burning metal. The renowned Soviet military leader Fedor Ivanovich Tolbukhin, Nedelin's immediate superior in those years, half jokingly and half seriously called him the "great tamer" of the fascist beast.

G.K. Ryzenkov, former colonel of the General Staff and now retired, lives in Odintsovo near Moscow—is a tireless and devoted biographer of Marshal Nedelin and founder of the Mitrofan Ivanovich [Nedelin] museum in local school No 9 which incidentally also bears his name. Grigoriy Kirillovich can talk for hours, hours are nothing, for days about the first Commander in Chief of the Missile Forces and naturally can talk about his personality only in superlative tones. With all of the respect I have for the Marshal, I could not begin writing about him as my personal icon. As with every normal man, he obviously also had weaknesses which are inherent to everyone, "unevenness" and "coarseness" of character.

"Uncle Mitrosha," as we in the family affectionately called him," recalls Vadim Serafimovich Nedelin, the Marshal's nephew, "was a very understanding person. He dearly loved his mother—Baba Many and he had touching relations with my father—his brother, a purely civilian man and a financier by profession. He did not have any sons—there was a single daughter named Ludmilla and maybe that is why a portion of his unspent fatherly love was given to me. But at the same time one would have to know the principled and uncompromising Mitrofan Ivanovich. When I entered the Odessa Artillery Institute in 1946 after finishing school, he, having just been assigned as chief of staff of artillery of the Soviet Army, was clearly upset: 'Now they will say that the uncle treated his nephew kindly.' Later he spoke these words to me: 'Military service is difficult and, listen Vadim, I will never help you in any way, the only thing I will do is to protect you if a clear injustice is allowed in regard to you.'"

"He was unaffected in his relations with relatives and friends," the young Nedelin continued his story, "but cold and reticent with people he did not know well. He was distinguished by his extreme caution in judgments and actions, a kind of overdeveloped thoroughness. If he had to go somewhere, he tried to arrive at the station an hour before the train's departure, and he traveled in two vehicles, God forbid, one might break down.

After launch of the first spacecraft-sputnik [satellite] in the summer of 1960, our team was quickly sent to another site located approximately 20 kilometers from Site Two. They said that we needed to rapidly erect a small surface launch pad for launching a new missile designed by Mikhail Kuzmich Yangel. One day, the lieutenant told me a joke that was going around among the military personnel. The gist of it was that "Korolev is working for TASS, and Yangel—for all of us," simultaneously implying that Yangel's missiles, although not making historic discoveries in the conquest of outer

space, are capable of reliably defending the country from an aggressor's encroachments. We were talking about the first military intercontinental ballistic missile.

The Explosion

It was Autumn, 1960. All summer we had assembled the new launch pad. It was not a very complex structure, but a design innovation was used in it—prototype scales on which a fueled missile was weighed. Ballistics experts needed to know the missile's exact weight for calculating the trajectory and flight altitude of the formidable "Yangel item."

The lieutenant's subunit was transferred here to the site. While the missileers prepared for the launch, we installed a launch pad, laid communications lines, and reinforced a special support frame for the erector. Two launch pads were constructed immediately—left and right. The first launch was planned from the left pad. Engineers—testers from M.K. Yangel's KB [Design Bureau], and representatives from various enterprises in Moscow, Leningrad, Kharkov, and other cities, who had participated in the design of instruments and assemblies for the new item—dropped by at the site toward the beginning of October. And we, having completed our business, were transferred back to Site Two where preparatory work was already going on at full speed for launching a spacecraft into orbit with a man on board.

A launch from the left launch pad was planned for Sunday, 23 October.

Newspapers at the time wrote:

"The grain harvest is coming to an end. We have already mowed 105 million hectares of grain and legume crops—97 percent of what was sown. We have threshed 95 percent of what has been mowed. Particularly intensive work is currently going on in the former virgin lands. Siberian and Kazakhstan grain-growers are striving to rapidly cope with the harvest."

"Tanks arrived at the Izhevsk Division of the Kazan Railroad. But the T-34's were without their armored battle turrets. The tank which has a powerful engine, will replace several tractors. A good helping hand has arrived..."

"While moving through the fishing area in the Strait of Skagerrak (North Atlantic), the Daugava Floating Fishing Factory from the sea port of Riga was subjected to a provocative attack by a group of NATO military vessels. Submarines, destroyers, and torpedo cutters at first sailed on a parallel course, then later began a demonstration of an attack on a steam ship. The ships were sailing with their [navigation] lights extinguished."

"Colorful placards informed us that a dispute on the theme "Are You Ready to Live Under Communism" is taking place in the club of the Altyn-Topkan Lead and

Zinc Combine imeni Lenin in the city of Almalyk in the Uzbek SSR. Already today, miners and metallurgists are moving to the boundaries of the future."

"According to ADN [Allgemeiner Deutscher Nachrichtendienst—East German Press Agency] reports, the West German Ministry of Defense is planning to establish a belt of nuclear missile bases along the state border of the German Democratic Republic. Quoting information from Bonn, the press agency points out that they are talking about Hawk missiles which can carry nuclear warheads."

"At competitions in Uzhgorod, Moscow student Valeriy Brumel jumped over a bar set at 2 meters 20 centimeters. This is an outstanding achievement. Now the second prize winner at the Olympic Games is only 2 centimeters off the world record."

"Mr. McCown, chairman of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, stated at a press conference held in Washington, D.C., that the United States is currently building special structures which will make it possible to conduct underground nuclear detonations in coming weeks."

Movement of the missile from the assembly and testing structure to the launch pad began on the morning of 23 October. Delivery of the S.P. Korolev designed spacecraft from the MIK [assembly and testing structure] to the "pad"—is always a specially elaborated ceremonial: a motorized transport slowly carries, at walking speed, the gigantic missile and its creators walk behind it with bared heads. Here everything was done more simply and ordinarily. The heavily laden missile transporter proceeded on rubber wheels along the concrete pad, entered into the KPP [Site Command Post] gates and stopped at the launch pad. A special system on the installer's raised boom transferred it to a vertical position so that the wheels ended up on one side. Later when the missile was secured to the launch pad with wind braces, the installer surrounded it with servicing platforms, the missile transporter was dropped to the ground, and it was driven away from the launch pad. Testers climbed up onto the servicing platform's levels. Work began...

There were many people at the launch pad. Creative and sometimes nervous activity reigned here, caused by the presence of the major leaders. Marshal Nedelin and Chief Designer M.K. Yangel walked alongside the missile and Assistant Designer L.A. Berlin and V.A. Kontsevoy were also right there. Colonel Ye.I. Ostashev was invited as an observer, Colonel A.I. Nosov was promoted and had to leave for Moscow but he thought it was mandatory that he be present at this important launch—his knowledge and experience could prove useful at any moment. Colonel-Engineer R.M. Grigoryants and Lieutenant Colonels V.D. Leonov and A.V. Sapurov managed the launch work.

Major General Aleksandr Grigorevich Mrykin, deputy test range chief, arrived at the launch pad. This man, according to general opinion, was a strong and lively individual but it is true that some complained about his lack of restraint and stern character. They said that even Sergey Pavlovich Korolev himself was somewhat afraid of Mrykin. In any case, the general's wrath attained its dimension at the cosmodrome. The officers made a joke which was a play on words on the general's last name. Major General K.V. Gerchik, the test range chief, ordered chairs and stools brought from the service building for the important guests. They were set up at the launch site.

Fueling was completed successfully and the leveling system cutoffs operated normally. But, during the second half of the day, malfunctions were detected in the engine's automatic equipment. They had to remove the hatches on the missile's lower portion and they were already re-soldering the fueled missile's joints which is a gross violation of safety rules. They postponed the launch until Monday but no one had left the launch pad by late evening.

On the 14th of October 1960, N.S. Khrushchev returned to Moscow from New York in good spirits. Behind him was a series of momentous speeches at the 15th U.N. General Assembly Session on the problem of eliminating the colonial system and on the issue of universal and total disarmament. The American press described the visit of the Soviet delegation as "25 days that shook America."

As we recall, our leader at that time did not suffer from excess formality, his speeches were simple and severe, and obviously he sincerely thought that the appropriate protocol etiquette should be left in these cases to the prerogative of those sensitive to the glorifications of diplomats.

"Imagine," he said in one of his speeches, "that representatives of governments who participate in the U.N. would struggle with this 'ideal' thought: 'Let us resolve to eliminate the socialist system in the Soviet Union. What would it be like if everyone voted for this besides us, the representatives of the socialist countries? We would say, as we Russians say in our country in such situations: 'Take a hike! You made this decision, you can also live with it, and we have lived under our socialist system and will continue to live under it. And he who pokes his nose in, excuse me for such an indelicate, but sufficiently picturesque expression, we will punch his face in!'"

He said something no less categorical several days later:

"You do not scare us, the people of the socialist world! Our economy is flourishing, our technology is on the rise, and the people are united. You want to tie us into an arms race competition? We do not want this, but we are not afraid. We will beat you! We have put missile

manufacturing on a production-line basis. Recently, I was at one plant and saw that missiles were being output like sausage from a machine. Missile after missile is being produced on our production lines."

And, finally, on 20 October in the Central Stadium Palace of Sport imeni Lenin in Moscow at a meeting of thousands of the capital's workers dedicated to the work of the Soviet delegation at the 15th U.N. General Assembly Session, he spoke his memorable words: "...if you, gentlemen, want to once again test the might and endurance of the socialist state, we will show you, as they say, and give you the gruel [a threat]."

The morning of 24 October began anxiously. One more misfortune was added to all of the others—a "tiny" fuel leak appeared. The members of the State Commission demanded that the fuel indicator be checked. It was established that the component had leaked a bit but this basically would not affect the launch. The ballistics technicians confirmed that it would not be necessary to top off the missile's fuel tanks.

The day was waning, dusk was approaching... The last tests had begun—the pre-launch guidance system checks. Marshal Nedelin was sitting on a stool approximately 17 meters from the base of the missile. Designers and ministry leaders were located beside him. General Mrykin approached Yangel: "This is it, Mikhail Kuzmich, I am quitting smoking, let us go off to the side and smoke a last cigarette."

General Mrykin died several years ago. He still had not succeeded in quitting smoking. It was a rare occasion, but that "last" cigarette saved his life and Yangel's at the time.

The situation took shape in precisely the manner historians have since described it.

"Work on construction of a new test complex and equipping it with the latest equipment and gear began in the Autumn of 1959 and was conducted day and night. Military experts, representatives of industry, and builders expended great efforts and they understood their total responsibility for the task entrusted to them. By October 1960, work was completed on construction of a test range equipment pad and launch pad and also on production of the missile and ground equipment. All services of the newly created administration amassed skilled experts who underwent training at scientific and research institutes, and with design bureau development engineers and at manufacturing plants.

Flight tests of the R-16 missile system were begun in October 1960 under the leadership of the State Commission which was headed by Chief Marshal of Artillery M.I. Nedelin.

Missile flight tests were conducted in two phases. During the first stage, missiles were tested which were designated for military use only from ground launchers. The launch of the first R-16 missile was planned for the evening of 23 October, 1960. After fueling the missile, a malfunction occurred in the electronic wiring of the automated engine unit as a result of which its turbo-pump unit filled components with fuel. A decision was made to correct the malfunctions in the fueled missile. Since guaranteeing the functioning of the engine unit in this situation was determined to require 24 hours, work on correcting the malfunctions was carried out without letup.

On 24 October at 18:45 local time, a 30 minute readiness to launch was announced. At that time while carrying out operations for bringing the programmed current distributor to its initial setting, a premature command was passed from it for ignition of the second stage main engine. Jackets of the first stage fuel tanks were destroyed by gas jets, and a fire and explosion broke out. A significant portion of the combat crew and a number of supervisory workers located on the launch pad near the missile were killed, including M.I. Nedelin...

"At the moment of the explosion, I was approximately 30 meters from the base of the missile," recalls one who miraculously survived from among those who were on the launch pad, "a thick plume of flame suddenly erupted, covering everything around it, a portion of the combat team and the testers instinctively attempted to run away from the danger zone, people were running to the side of the right launch pad toward the ramp—a special overhang under which various equipment was hidden: Fire engines, refueling trucks, mobile cranes, but their path was a strip of freshly laid asphalt which immediately burst into flame. Many got stuck in the hot, swampy mass and became prey of the fire—later, outlines of men and things that could not burn—metallic money, bunches of keys, stamps, emblems, and buckles from belts and gas masks could be seen on this spot... For some reason, heels and soles of shoes also did not burn. The most terrible fate fell upon those who were on the upper levels of the servicing platform—people were enveloped by the flames and caught fire like candles burning rapidly. The temperature in the fire's epicenter was about 3,000 degrees.

Those who ran to the left of the launch pad attempted to remove burning clothing, jackets and coveralls, while running, alas, many of them did not succeed in doing this. Later, scorched corpses hung everywhere on the barbed wire which surrounded the site.

Yet one more direct participant in these events tells his story: "Near evening, I met General Gerchik on the site and he made the following observation: 'Maybe you will take my advice,' he said with dissatisfaction, 'take your officers and immediately evacuate the site, you have nothing more to do here.' We got into the vehicle and drove out to the observation point located on high

ground 3 kilometers from the launch pad. A very calm situation reigned here—military and civilians roamed about, a screen was stretched from poles dug into into the ground, and a soldier-movie technician was bustling about with the equipment. The film captions went by and suddenly everyone jumped up from their seats—a fiery pillar had soared above the launch pad. We numbly looked from the height of the NP [observation post] as the flames spewed forth again and again... Afterwards, everything quieted down. We could see clearly see fire engines and ambulances racing down the concrete pad one after the other.

"After a short period of time, an order came over the radio: 'All officers, assemble immediately at the hospital in the housing area.' I thought that they needed blood for transfusions or skin for grafts. We jumped into a "GAZ" [Gorkiy Automobile Plant] vehicle and rushed down. An eerie sight awaited us there which I have not been able to forget till this day. They carried the dead off the site and laid them near the medical unit. All of the corpses were in identical and somewhat doubled up poses and all were without clothes or scalps. It was impossible to identify anyone. Under the light of the moon, they seemed to be the color of ivory."

And this is what one of the leaders of the then emergency recovery team says: "During the day on 24 October, I received an order from Colonel Konstantin Vasilevich Gerchik, the test range chief, to deliver several oxygen tanks from Site Ten to the launch pad. I returned toward evening. While driving up to the third rise, We suddenly saw an enormous crimson glow from the direction where the launch should be taking place. All barriers at entry control points were raised for unimpeded access by fire engines and ambulances, but the KPP duty officer decisively blocked our path: 'You cannot pass, I have an order to not allow anyone to proceed in that direction.' A light automobile proceeding directly toward us suddenly stopped, my immediate supervisor, Chief Engineer Colonel Svirin was riding in it. 'What happened?' I asked him. 'A calamity, a major calamity,' he repeated several times, 'We need many coffins.'

We spent Monday evening in the three-story hotel at Site Two. I knew that a launch was planned for this evening on that same launch pad but I did not want to go out onto the street and see the missile climb from such a long distance. Suddenly, there was a sharp knock at the door of our room. A man I knew from another team was standing on the threshold. "Lads, an accident has taken place on the launch pad. Everyone is dead, Marshal Nedelin was burned alive!" he shouted loudly.

We did not sleep till late that evening, listening to the stories of those who arrived from there. The whole hotel was abuzz. We found out that not everyone had died... For example, General Gerchik was alive, although taken to the hospital in serious condition. It was a miracle that Chief Designer Mikhail Kuzmich Yangel remained alive by chance since he had left the area for a smoke, but all

of his assistants had died. Yangel rushed toward the fire—they succeeded in removing him with difficulty. They said that there were still many poisonous fuel components—they were being dispersed with milk. The hospital at Site Ten was overloaded and plane loads of doctors from Moscow would already be arriving this evening.

I thought that if there is any luck, it could, of course, be the lieutenant's, although at the same time I well remembered that in war, first of all soldiers and young officers always die along with marshals and generals.

The 3rd Session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet began its work on 25 October 1960 in the Great Kremlin Palace. At 10 a.m., Comrades A.B. Aristov, N.G. Ignatov, F.R. Kozlov, A.N. Kosygin, N.A. Mukhitdinov, D.S. Polyanskiy, M.A. Suslov, Ye.A. Furtseva, N.S. Khrushchev, N.M. Shvernik, and P.N. Poslelov took their accustomed places in the government box. Many of the deputies took note of the fact that Brezhnev was not in the Presidium. Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, designated the representative of the State Commission for investigating the causes of the catastrophe was at that moment already flying to the test range.

The Commission headed by Brezhnev was in a decisive mood. It was going to dismiss people from work, tear off shoulder straps, and submit some for trial. The vehicle escort, with Brezhnev in the lead vehicle, proceeded directly from the airfield to the assembly and testing structure. All leaders of the R-16 intercontinental ballistic missile launch who remained alive were called to it.

It was also decided to create a Technical Commission from among their number under the leadership of K.N. Rudnev, chairman of the State Commission for Defensive Technology. The next day he reported on the causes of the accident. All of the non-mating [joints] and the faults that arose during the course of the launch were painstakingly and logically analyzed. Besides Brezhnev, A.I. Serbin, head of the CPSU Central Committee Section, and Marshal of the Soviet Union A.A. Grechko, deputy minister of defense, were also present. Brezhnev now and again said: "Serbin, write—some factory or other delivered unperfected equipment or some wiring that did not meet standards."

At some stage, the question arose: Who specifically is guilty? In justice I must say that there were those who tried to accept total blame and to take responsibility for what had occurred on their shoulders. But the farther the Government Commission worked, the more it did not hurry to make conclusions. Finally, in the act signed by its members, the thought was formulated that an unforeseen misfortune and tragic coincidence had occurred. At the same time, Brezhnev pointed out somehow: "It is good that before we left I consulted with Nikita Sergeyevich [Khrushchev] in case something really stupid had happened here."

The commission members visited the destroyed launch pad. Here they saw the overturned missile, the mutilated erector, and the burst fuel tanks... Alongside lay the engines—they were designed for such a high temperature. Afterward, a trip to the hospital was arranged. Brezhnev, having slipped on a white gown and surrounded by a retinue, walked from ward to ward, stopping to talk to each victim who was conscious. He said that the Soviet Government would pay tribute to the bravery and heroism of the launch participants and that each of them carried out their military duty with honor.

Reflecting now on what occurred on 24 October 1960 at the test range, talking years later with many eye-witnesses as to what had happened, and comparing the facts with peoples' fragmented memories, I can make a number of varied assumptions concerning those events.

When I asked the experts just how could super-careful Marshal Nedelin allow a clearly malfunctioning missile, in addition, one fueled with "devil's venom" with a super-high combustion temperature, and adjustments were going on until the last minute when work should have been stopped in accordance with elementary logic, fuel should have been emptied, and the missile shipped back to the manufacturing plant, I was told essentially this: "The Anniversary of the Great October Revolution was approaching and you really did not know that we are accustomed to turning over apartment houses, blowing in a blast furnaces, and reporting labor achievements as the holidays approach..."

It is also not excluded that N.S. Khrushchev, somewhat upset about his recently completed trip to the United States, demanded immediate action from his Missile Forces Commander-in-Chief—the need to conduct a test launch of that type of combat missile was quite obvious. The Marshal was reputed to be a careful man, but he was also known as a soldier who could not disobey an order.

Certain people accused him then, yes and even now the thought creeps into conversations that, they say, Marshal Nedelin was distracted and violated precautionary measures, why did he allegedly have to sit at the launch pad several meters from the missile when there were special shelters for this purpose. I think about this differently... Mitrofan Ivanovich perfectly understood all of the risks and dangers of the situation which developed, but he was a real military man and knew that nothing could reassure his subordinates more than the commander's personal presence. He consciously exposed himself in that manner. Finally, he could have quite honestly assumed that delay of the launch would mean death. In any case, I would like to believe that.

Sleet was falling in Moscow in the morning, the Metro reeked of the pungent odor of damp clothing, a cold October wind fluttered the fragments of posters about the final performances of the American Theater of Ballet directed by Lucy Chase and Oliver Smith, it had already been designated a day of honor for the Torpedo soccer

team which had become the national champion this year for the first time, and those who would die on the launch pad were making their last trip to Site Ten. The officers' wives had been going from apartment to apartment since evening gathering artificial flowers. Throughout the night, a bulldozer, guided by the light from its own headlights, roared among the young trees digging a common grave in the recently laid out park located on the road from the center of Site Ten to the airfield.

When the funeral march rang out and dozens of nailed-shut coffins floated over the crowd toward the service caps, rain suddenly began to fall which occurs quite rarely in these areas. As they say, the earth cried over the dead, the officers' young widows sobbed, and the gun salvos of the farewell salute rang out dryly over the steppe.

Speaking at the funeral meeting at the common grave, Brezhnev also cried, unashamed of his tears. He said that the achievements of the fallen would never be forgotten, that now we need to thoroughly review how to live further, to appropriately continue the cause they began, and that the government was concerned about the families of the deceased. Eye-witnesses confirm that this rejoinder was in his speech: "And he who is guilty has punished himself."

Afterwards a table was set for approximately 40 people in the cafeteria of the so-called zero block, in which the very important guests stayed. The command section set up a sort of funeral banquet. Leonid Ilich recalled that when he served in the Far East, his parents sent him a bottle of vodka in a package and how he caught it from the command section. Therefore, addressing the political workers present, he urged them not to rage, brothers, today is such a sad day and there is also a Russian custom ... During this whole time, he was continuously wiping tears from his eyes. It is true that it did not prevent him from casually uttering in a conversation two days earlier that, while secretary of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee, he had heard that outstanding sheatfish could be found in this area. A team was immediately detailed with an inflatable rubber dinghy and explosive charges in order to get a big fish from the Syrdarya River as rapidly as possible. It seems they caught a sheatfish with it...

That same day they buried the lieutenant who obviously was also guilty and punished himself. Only right now it is difficult for me to say his name... Maybe it was Ivan Britsyn or Marat Kupreyev, or maybe Edik Mironenko or Valeriy Sinyavskiy. Or maybe it was really Captain Vasilii Geraskin, Senior lieutenant Igor Zarayskiy or Sergeant Aleksandr Yudin. These names are not fictitious. After a certain time has passed, they will be engraved on an obelisk at the common grave. There are many names of people of various military ranks.

Instead of an Epilogue

It had begun to clear up now, it had begun to clear up... Either the climate had become different or it was an awakening from a long hibernation akin to an inner cleansing of the spirit. The circular and the paragraph still have quite a bit of power, but see how the sign of the times is a completely democratic positive decision taken in answer to an OGONYEK request—to visit the cosmodrome and that very tragic site.

I returned to my youth at the Kazakhstan test range and also did not sleep peacefully all night, while the train was clicking its wheels from Tashkent to the familiar Tyura-Tam Station, and felt myself not to be a young, enthusiastic fighter, but an old, discharged soldier for whom everything is in the past—both the hot hand to hand combat and the waiting, strategic fights. In essence, life is short!

Much has changed here. Site Ten has been transformed into the young strong city of Leninsk, in which there are enough beautiful multi-story homes and young mothers pushing baby carriages along the sidewalks, where new parks and majestic memorials have been raised to the space pioneers... In the morning, I left the Tsentralnaya, a very modern hotel (could we have even thought about this?) and went strolling along familiar and unfamiliar blocks and along streets bearing the names of Colonels Nosov and Ostashev, past the first school with a memorial plate in kind memory of Georgiy Maksimovich Shubinov, builder of the cosmodrome, past the only two-story cafeteria in our time, where we sometimes heated up tea after returning from distant sites and finally, I walked into the park with the same sparse, low trees as back then which cannot withstand the force of steppe winds and suddenly caught sight of a modest obelisk with the laconic inscription: "In eternal memory of those who died while carrying out their military duty on 24 October 1960."

I returned to the lieutenant after 24 years.

Time is powerless before monuments constructed to the ages, but this obelisk carelessly constructed a quarter of a century ago turned out to be quite unprotected from the passing years and, upon closely examining the perimeter of the grave mound, I caught sight of cracks in the concrete and jagged frames of photographs over the names of the dead in places. Time is wiping away the traces of not only those who lie under this grave stone but of their relatives and dear ones who come here each year to place flowers and stand silently for a while over the grave of a son, father, or brother. Now the relatives are coming more infrequently...

We were on the road the next day. The familiar concrete runway stretched like a snake from the KPP to the launch pad and a train with multi-colored tank-cars rolled merrily along parallel to our vehicle along the local

railroad track: the blue stripe [on the tank-car indicated]—oxygen, the black stripe—nitrogen. Over the years, they had constructed a new high-capacity shop alongside the old one on the third rise where we were once evacuated. The broad horizon of the steppe opened behind it where the graceful needles of numerous antennas penetrated into the sky. We were entering the "work zone."

You can understand my feelings when, having stopped the car at the KPP with the sign "Gagarin Launch Complex," I did not hurriedly go to the launch pad protective covering, I stood there for a while, leaned on the hand-rail while looking at the screen which had slipped away into the past. How many people had already succeeded in accomplishing the leap into outer space from here, exactly the same as the number of stars drawn on the fitters' boom, near which servicing crews—present-day soldiers and lieutenants were scurrying about. They had the same bright boyish faces like we had back then.

Each of them will also remember this launch pad for the rest of their lives.

Later we drove through Site Two along the three-story hotel where three riggers accomplished their inexcusably impudent deed, which I am even now inclined not to regret, and the path of the "uazik" was on the site where Marshal Nedelin and the lieutenant died.

Strange feelings possessed me and here, on the site where the combat launch pad was once located on the abandoned vacant lot, and which now contain only solitary concrete bunkers like sad ancient crypts and the bent and rusty frame of the launch pad, overgrown with grass in places, and a drainage ditch in which dismantled communications equipment were obviously left behind, today remind us of what happened here. Twenty eight years had passed and the impression was as if no man's feet had walked here since. And not only is Tyura Tam sacred, but these concrete slabs are also sacred, where the flesh and blood of people crushed by an explosion will remain forever. Why are we deaf and blind to their memory and why do we self-consciously create the appearance that nothing ever took place then?

I am writing these lines in my Moscow apartment and I am hearing noise and static in the dictaphone all of the time—this is interference from the wind which blows continually during all seasons of the year. The strong wind can carry camel's thorn or tumbleweeds onto the steppe but it cannot blow out of the eyewitnesses memories that it was exactly at this spot on the site that the instantaneous deaths of Mitrofan Ivanovich Nedelin, the first Commander-in-Chief of the Missile Forces, and the other leaders responsible for the launch, it was here that burning testers were torn from the site, and here near the ramp that the officers got stuck in the fresh asphalt leaving only a black spot after themselves.

The tragic mistakes were obviously unavoidable since when we are talking about complex military equipment in situations like those which took shape in the international arena during the memorable Autumn of 1960. The test range's political workers told me that the question about putting the site in order and erecting a memorial on the spot where the heroes died has been frequently raised since it could become a center of spiritual education for future generations of missileers. Meanwhile, their attempts are running into a deaf wall of indifference.

We are justifiably proud of our achievements in space. Approximately 20 kilometers from here, the Gagarin and Energiya space launch pads rise majestically, attention is riveted on them, there are delegations, television cameras, flowers and applause there... Here, year in, year out, there is quiet, weeds, and neglect. Are we not like Ivanov, not remembering the relationship?

Once in autumn, when it was completely unbearable—so much so, having almost clenched my teeth into my tie, I drove to Tarusa. It was a bright, clear day and the sun was quietly splashing on the crimson of the already thinned out leaves. Climbing up along the familiar street toward the cemetery, I automatically thought that youthful remembrances, associated with the name of the great writer and outstanding man, were intuitively leading me here. Afterwards, I sat on the bench at Paustovskiy's grave for a long time, alongside an oak which had burned at one time, and the most colorful pictures of that distant time were appearing before my eyes—dear familiar faces flashed in them, the lieutenant was also among them, and our Tyura-Tam epic work.

Through memory, we entrust our duty to life, it helps us preserve our faith, and gives us the strength to endure.

In Leninsk, along with the lieutenant colonel escorting me (he would not let me break away), we performed an experiment that was quite in the spirit of the times and, having stopped at the headquarters building, asked the lieutenants walking by at random: "Who was the first Commander-in-Chief of the Missile Forces?" "What do you know about Marshal Nedelin?" The answers were quite unexpected: "I do not know," "It seems there was such a person," and "He is certainly retired or dead now." Neglect to the memory may mercilessly take revenge.

I had the opportunity to talk with many people who have opinions about the events described. Some honestly tried to recall the details, and others were agitated, how can we openly talk about this state secret. But even secrets have a prescribed time period, and the limits of required secrecy must be precisely determined, and incidentally, a resolution from the last party conference talks about this.

I found a general, the same age as the lieutenant and I, who was a lieutenant on that very launch pad on that day, had survived through some miracle, and had spent time in the hospital. He is a remarkable man, intelligent, calm, restrained, and I thought that he was just like my lieutenant if the lieutenant had lived.

I dashed toward the general as toward a relative but he was careful in conversation: It appeared that the weight of the great secret was a heavy burden on his shoulders. Nevertheless, he brought an album of photographs of his dead comrades from home, and we wanted to put these photographs on the pages of our magazine to revive people's memories of these glorious lads, but a more senior general who had three times as many stars on his shoulder boards and obviously guided by the well known principle "nothing good will come of it" categorically forbid showing anyone the album.

I felt empathy for the young general—on the one hand, he honestly carried out an order as is customary in the Army, but on the other hand—to some degree, he wanted to preserve the memory of his fallen friends. What do you say in such situations? You could complain a bit about the strictness of Army orders or you could recall the popular aphorism that as long as there are people who will carry out ridiculous orders, there will be those who will issue them.

On a sunny summer day, I flew out of Leninsk, the aircraft made a steep turn, and suddenly the whole panorama of the city with the squares of houses and what appeared to be from altitude a narrow strip of a park. Somewhere will forever remain the grave of a lieutenant who never became a general and who never saw through binoculars how the window of Chekhov's office is lit by a lamp with a green lamp shade from the nocturnal waters of the sea.

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Decree on Civil Defense Needed

18010678 Moscow *KRASNAYA ZVEZDA* in Russian
21 May 89 First Edition p 1

[Article by Lt Col G. Chernyshev: "Civil Defense Forces Must Act Precisely and Competently Under Extreme Conditions"]

[Text] That was the subject of a roundtable discussion in the editorial offices of the journal VOYENNYE ZNANIYA, the organ of USSR Civil Defense and DOSAAF.

The roundtable discussion was preceded by an all-union spot check conducted by the editors together with their readers.

Deputy chiefs of USSR Civil Defense, chiefs of administrations, services and departments, and editorial associates took part in the discussion. Participants discussed the fact that the country needs a law on civil defense or a statute approved by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium which would precisely spell out the rights and duties of heads of enterprises, kolkhozes, sovkhozes, rayons, oblasts and republics in conducting protective measures.

Special attention was focused on questions of establishing mobile forces. Several special military subunits already have been formed and their personnel are undergoing intensive training for operations in extreme situations. The first professional mobile teams established in republics and oblasts have appeared and ways are being explored for providing them with necessary equipment, tools, and protective gear.

Rear Services Chief on Sale of Equipment to Civilian Sector

18010581 Minsk ZNAMYA YUNOSTI in Russian
26 Mar 89 p 2

[Commentary by Army Gen V.M. Arkhipov, deputy USSR minister of defense and chief of rear services of the Armed Forces of the USSR, under the rubric "Conversion in Action": "A Military Ship Is Sold"]

[Text] In accordance with the ukase of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet published in the press on 22 March, the Soviet Union's defense outlays are to be reduced in the USSR State Budget. Army Gen V.M. Arkhipov, deputy USSR minister of defense and chief of rear services of the Armed Forces of the USSR, talks about how the equipment and supplies freed as a result of the military reduction will be redistributed:

One of the points in the Warsaw Pact's new defense doctrine, as we know, indicates the expediency of reducing military capabilities to the level adequate for defense. The scope of the reductions being carried out in the Soviet Armed Forces is quite considerable. Within the next 2 years their numerical strength will be reduced by 500,000 and there will be a perceptible reduction in conventional armaments.

A plan has now been partially worked out for converting military industry and using defense industry equipment, buildings and installations for civilian production, and the redistribution in the civilian sector of the equipment and supplies released.

I would like to note that as a first step the USSR Ministry of Defense has prepared and sent to the USSR Gosnab [State Committee for Technical and Material Supply] a list of materiel amounting to more than half a million rubles to be offered for sale in 1989 to the public, to cooperatives and other organizations through Gosnab's territorial agencies. All of this is being turned over to the civilian sector without detriment to the combat readiness of the Army and Navy, of course.

Attentive managers who see the list, which includes thousands of different items of equipment, will find in it much which is essential in practical operations in the most diverse sectors. How could the kolkhozes and other organizations engaged in commercial fishing or involved in operations at sea not be interested in instruments, machinery and even auxiliary vessels of the Navy? What will they "go for"? This will be determined by USSR Gosnab.

One might wonder why a support vessel would be needed in the civilian sector. I believe that a use can be found, however. A large-capacity painting unit would no doubt come in handy to a fishing fleet. Incidentally, it has the latest navigation equipment. Sold by Gosnab, these units can fix up vessels of the fishing fleet afloat, as well as drilling and other units on the open sea.

The list contains more than 20,000 units of the motor-vehicle equipment so essential to the rural population. And they will be provided with an adequate quantity of spare parts and assemblies.

More than 2,600 units of refueling and transport equipment and equipment for pumping fuels and lubricants with an excellent record in the forces will be up for sale. The decision will help, at least partially, to alleviate problems which exist in this area, particularly during the summer and fall seasons. Almost 10 million rubles worth of fuel, oil and grease will also be sold.

And how could cooperative members and other people engaged in individual repair and/or manufacture of radio equipment not be interested in the large assortment and quantity of various microcircuits, transistors, diodes and other radio and electronic supplies which have gone through the military acceptance process?

Many people, of course, will like our machine tools for performing various repairs, the cable equipment and supplies, the pontoons for erecting crossings and army drilling machines for geodetic work and prospecting.

I believe that livestock raisers will be glad to acquire our military trailer-mounted meat processing plants, which can slaughter, cut up and when necessary, freeze, carcasses in the field.

We believe that with skillful use, these items and other equipment can to some degree cover the existing commercial shortage. Putting the equipment and supplies into the civilian sector will give additional stimulus to the restructuring.

A TASS correspondent contacted V.N. Konovalov, deputy chairman of the State Committee of the USSR for Material and Technical Supply. This is what he had to say.

We do in fact already have a complete list of the equipment and supplies being turned over by the USSR Ministry of Defense for sale to the public. Gosnab's territorial agencies have begun acquiring them at army and navy bases and depots. Sales will begin in the near future.

Chief Of Central Finance Directorate On Housing Subsidy

18010564 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
13 Apr 89 First Edition p 2

[Correspondent Major A. Plotnikov Interviews Colonel V. Korolenko, Chief of the Central Finance Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Defense: "Apartment With A Discount". Place and date of interview are not given. The first two paragraphs are an editorial introduction.]

[Text] By order of the USSR Minister of Defense, a subsidy for officers, warrant officers, and servicemen on extended duty has been set in the amount of 50% of indebtedness incurred to pay the cost of cooperative housing.

Our correspondent Major A. Plotnikov met with Colonel V. Korolenko, Chief of the Central Finance Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Defense.

[Plotnikov] Vladimir Ivanovich, please explain who will receive the subsidy.

[Korolenko] The financial subsidy, which does not have to be repaid, will now be granted to officers, warrant officers, and servicemen on extended duty who have more than 15 calendar years of irreproachable service in the army or the navy and are members of housing-construction and housing cooperatives.

[Plotnikov] I think there will be quite a few servicemen who joined housing-construction cooperatives and housing cooperatives long before this order was issued and who have already repaid part of their debt. Will they receive compensation?

[Korolenko] The question is one of providing assistance, not compensation. Let me explain by way of an example.

Say a serviceman's debt on his cooperative housing amounts to 2,000 rubles. In this instance a financial subsidy would be provided in the amount of 1,000 rubles. In other words, 50% of his loan would be paid. But he would not be compensated for the money he has already repaid.

[Plotnikov] What if a serviceman lives in a cooperative apartment for which he has already paid in full? Will any payments be due him?

[Korolenko] Servicemen who have already paid a cooperative for their housing are excluded from those who have the right to the subsidy.

[Plotnikov] Vladimir Ivanovich, what if a serviceman's wife belongs to a cooperative and has incurred a debt for the housing used by the family? Will the subsidy be paid in this case?

[Korolenko] No. The subsidy is available only to members of cooperatives who are on active military duty and, as I've said, have more than 15 calendar years of service.

[Plotnikov] There are doubtless members of housing-construction cooperatives among the servicemen who are being discharged in light of the reduction of the Armed Forces. Will they receive assistance in paying off debts owed cooperatives?

[Korolenko] Absolutely. And let me emphasize that the subsidy toward the cost of cooperative housing will be provided to this category of people first and foremost.

[Plotnikov] Please describe the procedure for obtaining the free financial subsidy.

[Korolenko] A serviceman has to submit an application with an attached affidavit from the board of his housing-construction or housing cooperative listing the amount of living space provided, its cost, and the amount of his outstanding debt. The serviceman's request is considered by the housing commission. On the basis of the commission's conclusion, the commander of the serviceman's military unit decides whether to grant him the free financial subsidy. The decision takes the form of an order.

[Plotnikov] And then the serviceman can obtain the money from the finance service?

[Korolenko] No. He does not receive the money in cash. The allocated funds are deposited directly in cooperatives' accounts with USSR banks.

[Plotnikov] Under what circumstances can a commander refuse to grant a subsidy to repay the debt owed a cooperative?

[Korolenko] The order states explicitly that the subsidy is to be granted to servicemen with irreproachable service records. So denying the application of an undisciplined officer or warrant officer would be fully justified.

[Plotnikov] Say a serviceman has received the subsidy but is transferred to serve in some other military unit. How will his new command find out about the subsidy?

[Korolenko] A corresponding entry will be made in the payment booklet of a person who receives the subsidy, first in order to keep this work in order, and second because a number of sanctions may be imposed.

For example, if a serviceman is discharged from the Armed Forces for misdeeds that discredit his military rank or is convicted of some offense by a military tribunal, the money he received in the form of the free subsidy has to be repaid to his most recent place of service within five years.

Chief Of Rear Services Interviewed On Food Rations

*18010568 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
14 Apr 89 First Edition p 2*

[Article by Colonel L. Nechayuk: "The Soldier's Diet: A Conversation With Army General V. M. Arkhipov, USSR Deputy Minister of Defense and Chief of the Rear Services of the USSR Armed Forces"]

[Text] The army and navy today bear special responsibility to the party and people for ensuring that the announced reduction of the Soviet Armed Forces does not lower the level of the country's defense capability or soldiers' combat readiness. The military man who has entrusted himself to the order needs not only professional skill, self-restraint, and peace of mind but also a firm conviction that no one is going to forget about his

everyday living needs or remain indifferent to them under any circumstances. For there's truth to the saying, "A soldier serves the way he's fed."

The unfolding restructuring has also encompassed the social sphere, demanding a new quality of living conditions in the army and navy. How has this affected the way soldiers and seamen are fed, what problems has it given rise to?

[Arkhipov] The reality is that we lack sufficient agricultural output. The state is forced to make purchases abroad of grain, meat, fruit, vegetables, sugar, butter, and several other products. Despite these difficulties, however, the Armed Forces are provided with virtually a full supply of provisions.

Our country has always had a strong tradition of taking a maternally solicitous attitude toward its soldiers, in wartime as well as peacetime. Of course, the question is not only and not so much one of food supplies, though it concerns them, too. During the past two five-year plans, furthermore, the allowances for a number of food products have been increased several times, and a number of improvements have been made in food rations and allowances for all categories of servicemen. In short, army and navy supply depots are receiving an adequate supply of food and one that is fully in keeping with allowances.

[Nechayuk] And what are those allowances? For some reason, they were never discussed for a long time, as if they were a big secret.

[Arkhipov] They are no military secret at all. The allowances are as follows: The soldier's daily ration consists of 850 grams of bread, including 400 grams made from grade one wheat flour; 175 grams of meat; 820 grams of potatoes and vegetables; 20 grams of animal fat; 30 grams of butter; 20 grams of vegetable oil; 70 grams of sugar; 125 grams of cereals; and 40 grams of macaroni products. In addition, he gets two eggs on holidays and nonworkdays.

The seaman's daily ration is somewhat different from the soldier's: It has a little more meat—200 grams, a different combination of fats, and less cereal. The total number of calories for the two rations is 4,154 and 4,145 respectively.

It must be borne in mind that this is the basic food allowance variant. Depending of specific types of service, workloads, and environmental and climatic conditions, rations vary and be as high as 5,000 calories.

[Nechayuk] It's hard for nonspecialists to judge the extent to which these allowances meet modern requirements. Could you compare them with those adopted in other countries' armies?

[Arkhipov] As concerns the total number of calories of soldiers' rations, the differences are not too significant. For example, the figure for the US and FRG armies is 4,000 calories; for the CSSR, 3,970; the GDR, 3,892; and Great Britain, 3,000. As you can see, our ration has the most calories.

But in terms of structure and composition, the differences are much greater. And naturally so, since each country has its own historical habits and tastes and traditional food products determined by its specific climatic conditions. Moreover, possibilities for agricultural production are by no means identical.

In the American Army, for example, the soldier's daily ration contains almost two and one-half times more meat products; twice as many fruits and vegetables; six times as many eggs; and only about a third as much bread.

Incidentally, we, too, need to adjust the allowances for bread and cereals downward, while simultaneously increasing the allowances, for example, for fruits and vegetables, butter, and eggs.

It must be said that we presently have too many different ration allowances—nearly 30 variants. This complicates provisioning. The time has come to revise our rations' structure and to make them more universal by reducing the number of variants.

[Nechayuk] In other words, the supply depots have enough food, as a rule, but the soldier sometimes gets up from the table only half full. Checks have shown that, last year as well as this year, the energy value of food products sometimes drops by one-fourth—and in some places by one-third—of the allowance en route from the supply depot to the soldier's table. Servings of butter, sugar, and meat are sometimes significantly less than called for. How does this become possible?

[Arkhipov] Regrettable as it is, we have to admit that we have not succeeded in ensuring that the full food allowances reach the soldiers. The situation is especially unfavorable in many units and subunits of the Transbaykal and Baltic Military Districts, in the Northern and Black Sea Fleets, and in the Northern Group of Forces. How does it happen that a substantial share of the established allowance fails to reach the soldier's table? Where does the food go? A good portion is lost to pilferers. There are still people who like to stick their hand in the state's pocket, to steal from those around them. Why? Commanders, political officers, and officials of the food supply service have not been sufficiently exacting toward those who fail to monitor the operation of mess halls—including mess halls for airmen and soldiers, hospital cafeterias, and other types of facilities.

No less alarming than these facts are frequent instances of what I would call a callous attitude toward food preparation.

When visiting units and ships, I see how much attention is devoted at these places to the outward, decorative side of the matter. What's wrong with that, you might ask. There's nothing wrong with it—on the contrary, it's good. But only on the condition that people are also being fed properly. But everything becomes mere window dressing if the food is monotonous and bland, if the refrigeration and other equipment isn't working properly, and if sanitary requirements are not being observed. It is downright shameful that in certain units of the North Caucasus and Siberian Military Districts and the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany, the kitchens of many soldiers mess halls are in a clearly poor sanitary condition.

I have to say that the poor quality of food preparation is also attributable to shortcomings in the professional training of military culinary specialists—the chefs and cooks. We give them less than six months' training in cooking schools. What can they learn in that time? Only the fundamentals, and in theoretical terms at that. Strangely enough, food preparation is especially poor on our Navy ships. Seamen are often forced to subsist on canned goods alone, and sometimes the cooks don't even make kasha—they're tired of it and don't know how to make anything else.

I sometimes think with bitterness about just how much of an amateurish and superficial approach is taken toward the task at hand. You travel to a unit, go to the soldiers mess, and there you are met by the chief of the food supply service, someone with a higher education, as a rule. He recounts in detail just what has to be done in order to ensure that there is food for breakfast, lunch, and dinner. But if the mess hall smells like disinfectant or has some sour odor to it, one needn't expect baked bread, browned piroshki, or good borsch to be served there. Can it be, I ask myself, that today's commanders and political officers in the units and aboard the ships fail to understand this? It was a long time ago, back when I was still commanding a company, but I've never forgotten to this day the delight with which I took in the aroma of real borsch in the soldiers mess.

No, I'm not idealizing the past. I realize that 20 years ago, most soldiers, on beginning their term of mandatory service, probably found themselves in conditions far better than what they had at home. But today? For me, for instance, kasha is a perfectly good food and something I'm used to. But some soldiers never even saw it at home, especially if they're from Central Asia or the Caucasus. And so when there's kasha on the table, they leave the mess hall "having gotten nothing for their pains."

It is absolutely essential to take into account all these differences in tastes and habits in young soldiers' backgrounds. Most soldiers' mess halls today—like civilian cafes and factory cafes—use the self-service method.

The soldiers sit at small tables in groups of four or six, in pleasant company. Each selects cold dishes, butter, and everything else from the self-service line.

In general, there have been changes for the better in the way food service is organized, but quite a few shortcomings and problems remain.

[Nechayuk] Judging from letters to the editors, one problem is that there simply aren't enough cooks.

[Arkhipov] That's very true. The fact is that we can staff only about 60% of our military units and subunits with cooking school graduates. The remaining cooks have to be trained right in the kitchen, so to speak. Second—and I consider this the most important factor—the staffing allowances for cooks and serving personnel have become obsolete. Public eating establishments have three times as many workers as soldiers' mess halls. And yet it's no secret that public eating facilities in our country are very far from ideal in terms of organization and service standards.

It turns out that, despite the fact that the soldier's ration has been significantly improved and that both the assortment of food and the number of dishes that may be prepared for him have been increased, food in the army is often prepared according to a maximally simplified scheme: Three to four of 40 possible side dishes are prepared; two or three of 18 possible main courses are served; and four or five of 52 possible second courses are prepared.

[Nechayuk] Insufficiently equipped mess halls and the state of their facilities are no doubt part of the problem.

[Arkhipov] Of course. If poor quality food products are received and if they cannot be properly stored, it's hard to speak of either a rich assortment of dishes or their taste properties. We face downright urgent tasks in this regard. Suffice it to say that we lack almost a third of the needed quantity of refrigeration equipment and almost half the required number of cold-storage facilities for vegetables. The situation is most adverse in the Transbaykal, Volga, Ural, and Transcaucasus Military Districts and in the Northern Fleet. Many mess halls are housed in ill-suited quarters that lack plumbing and hot water. These problems cannot be solved without sizable capital investments.

I am confident that the agrarian policy formulated at the March Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and envisioning a whole set of measures to solve the food problem will make it possible to markedly improve the state of affairs where food supplies are concerned within the next few years. But the army and navy could achieve a great deal right now were commanders, political officers, and food supply service specialists to promote auxiliary farming operations in a more active and more

persistent fashion. The latter hold enormous untapped potential for diversifying the soldier's diet and for making it as tasty as what he would have at home.

Nuclear Technology Facility Converted To Civilian Output

18010708 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA
INDUSTRIYA in Russian 1 Jun 89 p 4

[Article by I. Klimenko; "Magnets From A 'Post Office Box'"]

[Text] Yet another former secret production facility has adopted a civilian name—the Moscow Polymetals [polimetall] Factory.

The first interview of the young (both by age and by experience) director, Valeriy KRYUKOV was with a correspondent from SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA: Our organization is the foremost in the nation for the production of absorber elements for nuclear reactor control and protection systems. The collective has solid scientific-technical and production potential. But until recently our capabilities were aimed for the most part at the defense sector. Today in

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connection with the conversion we have begun to address civilian problems. We have created a marketing department and are looking for and establishing ties with potential partners, as well as with future consumers of the electrical consumer goods which are being developed.

And whose cooperation are you seeking?

We are seeking the cooperation of anyone who has ideas on the use of superpowered permanent magnets created based on rare-earth alloys such as samarium-cobalt, or neodym. We are capable of preparing magnets of any mass, configuration or strength. Anyone who is interested in our proposal is invited for a business discussion which we will be holding on the 28th of June at 10 o'clock.

But you are not so easy to find, Valeriy Viktorovich. Your organization is listed neither in the address bureau nor in telephone directories.

I will give the address: Kashirskoye Shosse, 52. The telephone number for inquiries is 324-89-06.

Military School Director Reaction to Troop Cuts
18010584 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in
Russian 18 Apr 89 p 3

[Interview with Lieutenant General Ye.M. Aunapu, head of the TVVPSU (Tallinn Higher Military and Political Construction Institute), by V. Repetskiy: "A Change Will Come For Officers"]

[Text] Servicemen, school graduates, and parents are appealing to the editor regarding the decision on USSR Armed Forces reductions. They are interested in the fate of the Tallinn Higher Military and Political Construction Institute and its graduates, in particular. Today we are publishing an interview with Lieutenant General Ye. M. Aunapu, head of the TVVPSU, by our correspondent V. Repetskiy.

[Repetskiy] Yevgeniy Mikhaylovich, judging by the telephone calls to the editor, rumors are circulating about the forthcoming closure of the academy. Do they have any basis at all to them?

[Aunapu] Absolutely none whatsoever. Actually, we are planning on curtailing certain military higher educational institutions, but our institution will not be affected at all. On the contrary, we have been tasked with the mission of completing construction of one complex in Koza and naturally, in light of the demands of the party, the government, and the Ministry of Defense, increasing the quality of officer training.

We are now developing a new posture on military higher educational institutions and I have become acquainted with certain variants. One thing unites them: to structure training of future officers on a more democratic basis and to broaden assignments according to individual plans in every possible way. I will point out here that we are now already allowing our best officer candidates to cover a whole series of [academic] disciplines according to individual plans and we are encouraging officer candidates to visit the city's libraries during hours of self-study.

[Repetskiy] We will again return to the question, please, what about the fate of graduates?

[Aunapu] Conversations also reach us that officer candidates will receive their officer shoulder boards and then they will be immediately dismissed from the Army. According to another version, graduates will be faced with a choice: If you want to, serve; if you do not want to, do not. Raising questions of this sort are completely ruled out. Construction units literally in all sections of the nation are awaiting officers-political workers. There, apart from facilities of a defense nature, they will be faced with quite a bit of work erecting living quarters, manufacturing enterprises, and social and personal services facilities. Besides, as officer candidate graduates

have themselves stated at party gatherings, those now remaining are precisely the ones who have sincerely and with deep conviction decided to devote their lives to the Army.

[Repetskiy] Was there a significant number of drop-outs?

[Aunapu] Not greater than in any other institutions of higher education. A portion of the officer candidates could not cope with the programs and a portion turned out to be in an officer candidate's collective by chance.

[Repetskiy] Can we make the conclusion from this that the professional selection process which is conducted among the candidates at military schools still needs improvement?

[Aunapu] That is so. But chance will play a significantly smaller role with the introduction of the new Entrance Regulations at military educational institutions.

[Repetskiy] In connection with the approval of the new regulations, the readers want to know who now will have the right to enter the TVVPSU?

[Aunapu] Compulsory service servicemen [draftees] and youth from among Komsomol activists or those having spent time as laborers, CPSU members, candidates for membership in the CPSU or VLKSM [Komsomol] members, upon recommendation of the appropriate political agencies of the Soviet Army, Navy, or CPSU raykoms [rayon party committees] (gorkoms [municipal party committees]) or Komsomol raykoms [rayon Komsomol committees] (gorkoms [municipal Komsomol committees]), are being accepted into military-political higher educational institution.

[Repetskiy] And just how will the new regulations allow raising the quality of the selection process?

[Aunapu] The system of exit and entrance commissions has been abolished. Now all servicemen will enter training directly at the vuz's [higher educational institutions]. And each one who becomes an officer candidate will undergo a two stage selection process. Professional selection commissions from the military districts, groups of forces, fleets, large units, and branches of the Armed Forces, as well as vuz professors, will implement the first or preliminary [selection] stage. The selection process will be very competitive. At first, candidates from among compulsory service servicemen will be sent to 25-day training camps (from 5 through 30 July). During these camps, they will undergo medical examinations, and testing on drill and ceremonies, physical fitness, and regulations, and will write Russian language dictation. Interviews will be conducted with them on general subjects which are administered during entrance examinations.

[Repetskiy] How will the candidate selection process be conducted among civilian youth?

[Aunapu] It will be conducted by municipal (district) selection commissions until 15 May.

[Repetskiy] Candidates will have to pass entrance examinations on which subjects?

[Aunapu] They must pass examinations on the Russian language and literature (written), mathematics, geography, and history of the USSR at military-political higher educational institutions. They will undergo the second stage of the professional selection process at the military schools prior to the examinations, and after the exams—a Credentials Commission where command representatives of the military school, including the chief, will personally talk with each candidate.

[Repetskiy] Yevgeniy Mikhaylovich, let us return to the topic of improving the educational process. Where do you see the shortcomings in it today?

[Aunapu] The thing that primarily worries us is teaching social sciences: philosophy, political economics, scientific communism, and the historical disciplines. And

well, we have come to the conclusion that these programs for each academic year are very poorly interrelated with one another both in time as well as thematically. This was especially perceptible last year when a single state examination on Marxism-Leninism was introduced. While analyzing its results, we became convinced that it did not "turn out" too well.

In connection with this, seminars for the social science department heads of the nation's command and political construction military schools will be conducted at the end of April in Simferopol. There we will prepare a package of proposals, bearing in mind that we are going to fundamentally change the program for teaching these disciplines and we will structure them on the problem method of teaching. Let us say that some theme or other must be presented in dialectical development both from the philosophical point of view, from the position of political economics, and from party historians and experts on scientific communism. This will permit the officer candidate, right from the very beginning of his training, to learn how to think broadly and approach issues from various points of view.

Finally, our main task is to cultivate highly educated and deeply analytical individuals as officers.

Soviet Participants Recall Vietnam War

18010563 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
13 Apr 89 First Edition p 4

[Article by Correspondent Major A. Dokuchayev: "'We Too Defended Vietnam': Participants In Combat Operations Tell Their Story".]

[Text] The subject of providing internationalist military assistance to other states was for a long time only partly open to our press. Of course, we know everything about Afghanistan. And there were once articles about Soviet soldiers who performed internationalist missions in China as well. But nothing was said, for example, about the Soviet subunits and units that helped repel foreign aggression in Egypt. On March 25 of this year, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA told about the combat operations of antiaircraft missile crewmen in the Middle East. In responses the editors have received to that article, readers ask that we also recall those who fought in Vietnam, in Syria, and in Korea.

As is often the case, a chance occurrence facilitated the search for participants in the war in Vietnam. During a meeting between the military council of the Air Defense Forces and employees of the mass media in the Air Defense Forces Museum, I saw a photograph, taken in 1966, in which Vietnam's Foreign Minister, Nguyen Duy Trinh, is seen congratulating Sergeant Nikolay Kopesnik on the occasion of his being awarded the Order of the Red Banner. A thread had appeared.

And soon we were talking with Nikolay Nikolayevich. Of course, he is no longer the young commander of the missile launcher crew who served with valor at his launcher in the jungle in the most intensive moments of battle, no longer the slender sergeant who in the spring of 1966 greeted delegates to the 15th Congress of the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League on behalf of the Communist Youth League of the Armed Forces. Slight wrinkles cross his high forehead, and his hair has grayed. But he is agile and charming, just as he was many years ago.

"I myself won't tell you much. Talk to Grigoriy Isidorovich Lyubinetskiy..."

The circle of acquaintances widened. Some of those who took part in engagements proved good storytellers. Others offered their diaries, and still others had preserved copies of various reports.

Reserve Major General G. Belov, retired (at the time he was the leader of a group of Soviet military specialists): August 5, 1964. It was an anxious and grim day for the fraternal people. The United States of America provoked a war against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam by staging the first air strikes against its cities. And that very day Vietnamese antiaircraft gunners who were defending the area surrounding the port of Ben Thuy shot down their first aircraft.

The stage of all-out aerial warfare against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam began in early 1965. The highly advanced, supersonic F-105D, and the F-4 Phantom aircraft began taking part in the piratical strikes. Providing Vietnam with antiaircraft missile systems, radar systems, and interceptor aircraft, dispatching military specialists to the country, and upgrading its air defense system became our duty.

We began training Vietnamese missile launcher crewmen in the spring of 1965. We had to contend with a rigid timetable—just three months. But events forced adjustments even in that schedule. In July the enemy began bombing important installations in the country more frequently, and the antiaircraft missile battalions took up defensive positions. The Soviet specialists left for the operational sites too.

From the diary of reserve Colonel G. Lyubinetskiy (an antiaircraft missile technician): July 24, 1965. The jungle. Barkless eucalyptus trees, a pallisade of bamboo, creeping bushes. But we had no time for exotica. We were setting up an antiaircraft missile system. The enemy could appear at any minute. And indeed, we had hardly finished camouflaging when two waves of American aircraft attacked Hanoi, 10 kilometers away from us. The launcher crewmen of a neighboring battalion opened fire first and were immediately successful: two launches and two hits. Our missile also hit its target. Later we hit a reconnaissance drone.

Today the Vietnamese told us that our battalions had downed the 399th, 400th, and 401st American aircraft in the course of the aggression. It was decided to cast commemorative decorations from the wreckage of the 400th plane and to award them to the missile crewmen.

Reserve Senior Sergeant N. Kolesnik: In June and July of 1965, the Yankees were impudently wreaking havoc in the vicinity of a small town located not far from the 17th parallel. The town itself had long since been destroyed by daily bombing runs and lay in ruins. The surviving inhabitants had abandoned it. The Americans were so confident of their ability to act with impunity that they turned the town into a nighttime firing range where they literally practiced bombing accuracy. And then Major Ivan Konstantinovich Proskurnin gave the order to move out.

Missile crewmen use the term "ambush." On July 27, we decided to ambush the enemy near the destroyed town, at the point where the aircraft turned around for the return flight. We arrived from an area outside Hanoi (the march took three days) and immediately became the center of attention of the peasants in the district, something that proved very fortuitous. The ground was rocky, and we had one night to prepare the launch sites. The peasants lent us a hand. "If it helps down a single 'pirate,' we're prepared to work for days," they explained. The rocky slope of the mountain was hoed by old men, women, and children.

Things were quiet at the position until midnight. Everyone who was off combat duty had gone off to the tents to sleep. I had just lay down when an alert was called. I jumped up and ran to the Vietnamese launcher crewmen's tent. I saw the canvas moving and could tell they were getting ready. We ran to the launcher together, loaded it—about twice as fast as in training drills—and immediately took shelter. I reported and heard the voice of Major Proskurnin in the receiver: "Fire missile No. 1! Fire missile No. 2! Fire missile No. 3..." Lighting up the area, the missile took off toward its target. I nudged Kuang Than, the commander of the Vietnamese launcher crew, as if to say, "Look, our missile's been fired." It was interesting for me too, since I had never been at firing range or taken part in a launch. The scene of the missiles taking off from the mountains into the night was an impressive one. But the biggest effect was produced when the planes exploded. Nights in Southeast Asia are dark. And suddenly a hitherto unseen object would break up into fiery pieces against the dark sky, setting half the sky aglow.

We reloaded the launcher, at which time the order came to stand down and clear out. We had downed four aircraft with three missiles. That's right, four. The Americans, convinced they could act with impunity, had flown so close together that one aircraft was hit by missile fragments. The remaining aircraft beat a retreat. All our men had performed well: guidance officer Konstantin Karetnikov, crew commander Aleksandr Burtsev, missile operator Tarzan Cherkviani, and launcher crewmen Rafand Akhunov and Aleksey Fomichev.

The battalion assembled and moved into a valley. We were allowed to get some sleep, for we had been on our feet for three nights. Meanwhile, at the launch sites from which we had fired, the Vietnamese set up decoy missiles that they had made out of wood beforehand and created a dummy position. They used ropes to attach the "missiles" to the trees. And then came a massive strike. The Americans bombed savagely, but they couldn't figure out what was happening below. A pilot who was shot down shortly thereafter recounted: "I thought I was starting to hallucinate. I bombed the missile launcher, saw the bomb explode, watched the missile fall, and then saw it suddenly come up again. I made another pass and saw the same picture, then a third..." That's what you call a skillfully prepared dummy position. And as the aircraft flew off, they came within the launcher crewmen's range. Three Skyhawks crashed to the ground. The encounter had an effect on the Americans. For two weeks they suspended all aircraft flights in that area.

We left for northern Vietnam, and ambushes became popular among the air defense subunits. A battalion, to which a group of specialists led by Lieutenant Colonel Fedor Pavlovich Ilinykh was attached, gained particular renown at the time. The missile crewmen under him destroyed 24 enemy aircraft. The officer returned from Vietnam decorated with the Orders of Lenin and the Red Banner.

From the diary of reserve Colonel G. Lyubinetskiy: August 1965. Yesterday we set up an ambush and destroyed two aircraft. The Americans left, but they apparently decided to take revenge on us. Eight aircraft streaked toward our position immediately following the first attack, using jamming equipment.

Only the jammer aircraft appeared on the radar screen; everything else was clutter, with no other targets visible. I heard Lieutenant Colonel Ilinykh give the order: "We'll launch our last missiles and head for the shelters. The battalion has been spotted. They're going to hit everybody..." We launched two missiles, and suddenly Ilinykh gave a new order: "Everybody stay put." It turned out that we had downed the jammer aircraft. Without it the Americans were exposed, and they headed back. They beat it... And yet we didn't have a single missile left. I'd thought we were goners...

Lieutenant General A. Dzyza, retired, (deputy leader of the group of Soviet military specialists attached to the antiaircraft missile forces): In early December 1965, the missile crewmen under Lieutenant Colonel Ilinykh successfully dealt once more with a Shrike—a missile designed to combat antiaircraft missile battalions. It follows the radar beam to the subunit and smashes right into the antenna, as a rule. The engagement went like this. When the enemy aircraft came within the radars' range, its instruments locked onto a signal, and the Shrike was fired at the radar beam. In September the battalion had narrowly avoided a hit when the launcher crewmen accidentally turned the station off. This time we acted quite deliberately. We got a fix on the Shrike the Phantom had fired, began turning the station, and then shut it off. The gray 3-meter-long cigar containing 23 kg of explosives and thousands of steel cubes "lost its way" and crashed into the ground. Then the Americans began developing a memory unit for the Shrike. We began preparing for that too, though we knew it would be difficult. For the missile would memorize the beam, and no clever ploy was going to stop it.

We were also engaged in a very tough job of devising countertactics in other areas. Instruments that could detect our missile launches were installed on American aircraft, enabling their pilots to execute maneuvers to evade our fire—such as diving or making a sharp turn. We began launching when an aircraft entered the most stable impact zone, and the maneuvers didn't save it. We also found an antidote to jamming...

From the diary of reserve Colonel G. Lyubinetskiy: January 1966. Buy Khay, a technician and my Vietnamese station partner, told me that the Yankees had stopped waging war according to schedule, so to speak. It turns out that before the arrival of our missile launcher crewmen, the Americans' combat operations were strictly timed. Reconnaissance went on from 0800 to 0900 hours, then massive strikes from 0900 to 1400 hours. This was followed by a two hour break. Then came more

strikes from 1600 to 1900 hours, and then it was time to break off the night. They even took regular days off. But now they knew that the antiaircraft missile crews were not to be trifled with.

Reserve Colonel V. Fedorov, (former regimental commander): It came as quite a surprise to me: The Americans have a good knowledge of Russian proverbs. In early December 1966, a Vietnamese battalion that was by then fighting on its own, without our specialists' assistance, shot down an American aircraft, and the pilot ejected. He was taken prisoner and brought to the battalion. He asked to be shown the Russians who had shot him down. We shot you down, the Vietnamese told him, letting him in on how the battle had been fought. To which he replied: "I still don't believe you. I smell Russians here." We proved to be good teachers... We left Vietnamese soil with a sense of satisfaction. Our friends had mastered antiaircraft missile technology in nine months.

The statistics were impressive too. In the course of all engagements, the regiment expended 43 missiles and destroyed 23 aircraft. The success was shared by Lieutenant Colonel V. Nizhelskiy, engineer Major A. Petrov, Major S. Vorobyev, Major A. Samorukov, Captain R. Kazakov, Captain Yu. Kulkov, Lieutenant V. Shcherbakov, Lieutenant V. Romanyuk... Before leaving for the motherland, Lieutenant Vadim Shcherbakov was decorated with the Order of Lenin, and the other specialists received Orders of the Red Banner and Orders of the Red Star.

Major General G. Belov, retired: In April 1967 I met with Ho Chi Minh. He thanked our specialists for their military services. Then he put his hand on my shoulder and said: "Tell your comrades that we have looked after and will look after every military specialist who helps us combat the aggression." I learned just what those words meant not long afterward.

One day we were driving down a highway when a raid began. A bomb exploded about 200 meters in front of us. We stopped and threw ourselves into a ditch. I had no sooner hit the ground when I felt someone fall on top of me. I looked up and saw Captain Tinh, my interpreter, and alongside him Tuan, the driver. When the aircraft flew off, I asked:

"Tinh, what sort of trick was that?"

"Comrade general, I answer for you life. You came to teach us how to fight, not to die in a strange land."

Be that as it may, some did die.

Air Force Major General A. Tombachev (deputy political leader of the group of Soviet military specialists): Two of our technicians were leaving for the motherland. The Vietnamese soldiers and officers who had fought with them were nearly in tears. As the vehicle drove off, they ran behind it for some distance and shouted "linso, linso!"—the words meaning "Soviet." That's how strong the friendships could become in eight months' time...

And our boys were true internationalists indeed. I remember an incident when the soldiers of a certain battalion were helping some Vietnamese repair a kindergarten. They were digging flowerbeds with some children. As a little girl turned over a shovelful of dirt, our sergeant caught sight of an "orange"—a sphere-shaped antipersonnel bomb that can fit in the palm of a person's hand and contains up to 300 small spherical projectiles that are lethal. He threw himself on the "orange," covering it with his body. An explosion rang out. The sergeant was killed, but none of the children was hurt.

It was precisely the strong friendship between our peoples that forced the Americans, in January 1973, to sign the agreement ending the war and restoring peace in Vietnam.

Each year on August 5, 25 to 30 people gather outside the Bolshoi Theater in Moscow. They are Vietnam war veterans who live in the capital and the Moscow area. For all of them, Vietnam represents the same thing. It is a country where blue and green colors reign, where the calm of night is interrupted by howling monkeys and chattering cicadas. It is anxious minutes at the missile launchers, and rocket explosions that make one's blood run cold. It is oppressive heat, compounded by humidity that becomes a spray. It is choking and dripping with sweat but having to sit at the radarscope for hours. It is the faces of Vietnamese women and children disfigured by napalm and antipersonnel bombs, and the steadfastness of soldiers who vowed to die for their motherland. And these former missile crewmen, radar operators, and pilots would like the people surrounding them today, their fellow citizens, to see the Vietnam of the 1960s and 1970s through their eyes.

Western Development, Use of Robot Tanks

18010603 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
5 Apr 89 First Edition p 3

[Article by retired Colonel V. Malikov, professor and doctor of industrial science, under the rubric "Military Technological Review": "Robot Tanks: On the Defensive and the Offensive"]

[Text] The doctrine adopted by the USA and bearing the appellation "Air Land Battle" devotes particular attention to the qualitative development of tanks and to increasing their numbers in the armies of the NATO nations. Furthermore, it is asserted that modern tanks are strong enough to withstand the effects of a nuclear weapon and their protective armor protects the crew from the shock wave, thermal radiation, and direct radiation.

Western military columnists have noted an increase in the proportion of tanks in the ground forces of the NATO nations, which is associated with the increased importance of tanks in achieving tactical and operational success during combat operations. For the most part, these determining factors also promoted a search for new design decisions: tanks began to be equipped with more powerful artillery armament, modern fire control systems, new power plants, etc.

At the same time, antitank weapons have also received further development. The firepower of antitank guided missiles, antitank guns, grenade launchers, and the tanks, themselves, has become equally threatening to motorized infantry and tank units and subunits. They say that the sharply increased density of antitank weapons per kilometer of defensive front and the different ranges of effective fire allow the defending side to withstand the massed use of tanks by the attackers.

The Western press notes that the experience of local wars in the Middle East has shown that during the 1973 three-week war, the total losses of both belligerents were as follows: personnel—38,500, tanks—3,340, armored personnel carriers—1,250, airplanes and helicopters—622. In the opinion of American and West German military experts, tanks and self-propelled antitank guns, possessing high-powered armament, solid protective armor, and a high degree of mobility, can become the ultimate in antitank weapons. Furthermore, it has been observed that fighting robots in the form of robotized tanks and self-propelled antitank guns are able to accomplish this mission most successfully.

Western columnists point out that the modern tank is a very complex machine, which costs approximately 3 million dollars, and its combat service life is very short. Therefore, the search for ways to significantly increase the survivability and combat effectiveness of tanks is urgent. Over the course of a number of years research, [the search] was given the appellation TEARS—"Increasing the effectiveness of tanks through the use of remotely controlled subsystems". As the journal

VERTEKHNİK writes about this, the essence of the conception consists of giving main battle tanks highly automated subsystems—robots (robotized tanks) with remote and self-contained control for reconnaissance and engaging the enemy's armored vehicles.

According to the journal's reports, losses are reduced given identical amounts of ammunition consumption by the enemy, and the system, itself, is more resistant to the effects of weapons of mass destruction and ensures large losses among the attackers relative to the defenders given equal amounts of time in combat.

The developmental robots have been given the conventional name "Demons". They are intended for joint operations with tanks and they are self-propelled or mobile platforms, upon which armaments and a control system having a microcomputer and a sensor package have been mounted.

Experts in the USA have made the following basic requirements for the robot tanks: low cost (approximately one-tenth the cost of a modern tank), the presence of a minimum protective armor, mobility and the capability of operating on the battlefield in rough terrain conditions, and conducting combat operations in the independent mode as well as by remote control from a tank or helicopter. The "Demons" weight should not exceed 1-3 tons.

It has been noted that the "Demons" can be employed most effectively in defensive actions, but at the same time it has been shown that they are also capable of performing many offensive missions. Western military experts envision two versions of combat utilization. At long range from the enemy (from 3-5 kilometers), the "Demons" operate at the command of main battle tanks located in camouflaged revetments or at the command of helicopters. Upon closing to short range (800-1,000 meters) from the enemy's armored targets, the "Demons" are capable of engaging them in combat in various modes. This includes the ability to switch the "Demons" operations to the independent mode from the controlling tank.

According to a Western press report, the robot vehicles can be equipped with various types of weapons and sensors. The signature of characteristic targets are entered in the computer's memory. The process of searching for, acquiring, and identifying targets, target tracking, arming the weapons, and aiming and guidance is done mathematically. The target image is received on board the controlling tank or helicopter, which gives the command to commence fire.

It is believed that using the "Demons" will make it possible to increase the depth of the zone of radar coverage and weapon effectiveness and to increase fire support to the troops from forward defense positions and the flanks. At the same time, the mobility of tanks on the defensive, supported by the robot vehicles in static

defensive positions, is increased and their fire capabilities are expanded by using artillery armament or terminally guided projectiles without any design changes in the tanks, themselves.

The development of fully robotized tanks equipped with a system of artificial vision, television, radar, laser, and acoustic sensors, as well as highly effective weapons is the future trend in the combat employment of remotely controlled tank robots. It is proposed to use these tanks, controlled from a single command post, along the main axes of attack in advance of ordinary combat vehicles, especially if the enemy has used weapons of mass destruction.

According to press reports, Western experts have begun the development and manufacture of robot vehicle prototypes for a different purpose, which have been given the name "Robotized Ground Attack Tank-Mine sweeper". They will be intended for clearing passages through antitank mine fields in front of the enemy's forwardmost defensive positions. The prototype tank-mine sweepers are based upon modified M60A3 tank chassis, upon the forward portion of which, at a distance of 1.8 meters from the tracks, is fastened a 10-ton roller-type mine clearing device.

In the opinion of American military experts, equipping the U.S. Army with robot-tanks and tank-mine sweepers could become an important factor in ensuring qualitative superiority over the forces of a probable enemy into the 1990's and beyond. In other words the arms race continues.

Vanin Commentary on 'Team Spirit-89' Exercise
1801652 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
29 Apr 89 First Edition p 5

[Article by Colonel A. Vanin, under the rubric "Military Rehearsal", entitled: "Team Spirit-89"]

[Text] The predawn silence of the Han River valley was broken by the roar of jet aircraft of the American and South Korean Air Forces. Abandoning their camouflage, tanks and infantry fighting vehicles dashed for cover. At the same time, in the area of the large naval port of P'ohang, landing craft, hovercraft, and amphibious armored personnel carriers rushed toward the eastern shore of the Korean peninsula. In the air Marine Corps assault transport helicopters of the U.S. and South Korean Naval Forces appeared.

Thus, early in the morning of 14 March the Armed Forces of the United States and South Korea began executing one of the variants of the conduct of offensive combat operations [boevoye deystviye] against the KPDR [People's Democratic Republic of Korea] within the framework of the joint exercise "Team Spirit-89."

This exercise has been conducted on the Korean peninsula and the adjacent waters of the Sea of Japan and the Yellow Sea since 1976. In the course of the preparatory stage, which lasted from 1 February to 18 March, measures were worked out to transfer the 600,000 man South Korean Army and the 43,000 man American force stationed in South Korea from a state of peace to a war footing; ground, air, and naval forces were moved from the United States and bases in the area of the Pacific Ocean; the coordination of the staffs of large strategic formations and smaller units was examined in the course of planning the conduct of combat operations.

American reinforcements, which numbered 39,000 men, were moved by air and sea. C-5, C-130, and C-141 aircraft of the U.S. Air Force military transport command and aircraft of commercial airlines delivered personnel and supplies to air bases on the territory of South Korea. Transport ships and supply vessels of the U.S. Naval Forces sea transport command moved heavy combat equipment, arms, and logistic and administrative support resources.

The men and equipment of the Marine Corps were delivered to the Korean Peninsula by air and on amphibious warfare ships of various classes.

In the course of the primary phase of the "Team Spirit-89" exercise ground troops conducted offensive and defensive combat operations and an airdrop of tactical airborne assault forces, some after a non-stop flight from the continental United States. Tactical fighters and carrier-based aircraft carried out an exercise to practice gaining air superiority, conducting aerial reconnaissance, and delivering bomb and missile attacks on surface targets and air defense facilities. About 700 sorties (300 by the U.S. Air Force and 400 by the South Korean Air Force) were conducted daily.

Special attention was paid to the training of flight personnel in the execution of combat missions from sections of highway fitted out for aircraft use. Presently on the territory of South Korea there are more than 10 such "alternate airfields," which measure about 45 meters wide and up to 2,400 meters long. They can be used by practically all the tactical fighters of the U.S. and South Korean Air Forces, including C-130 aircraft, as well as by carrier-based aircraft and Marine Corps aircraft. One such section of highway was prepared for use in the region of the inhabited area of Kumi (270 km southeast of Seoul).

Marine Corps sub-units practiced landing on open beaches and holding and enlarging a beachhead under conditions of active coordination with carrier-based aircraft and fire support ships.

The primary goal of this phase consisted in the monitoring of tactical procedures of offensive combat operations to see that they conform to new views on the use of

conventional weapons systems and weapons of mass destruction, and also in training personnel under conditions of the use of chemical warfare weapons.

The seriousness of the training of American forces in South Korea for operations under conditions of chemical weapons use may be judged by the capabilities of a new hospital on the Osan air base (built in 1987). The above-ground portion of this hospital is able to endure a direct hit by a 340 kg aircraft bomb. Its underground portion is more securely protected and can function in the event of the complete destruction of the above-ground structure. Air filters supply 30 days of fresh air to the building, which is estimated at 234 beds. Stores of water amount to 100,000 liters.

The exercise "Team Spirit-89," which lasted almost 3 months, incorporated 209,000 personnel, including 69,000 servicemen of the U.S. Armed Forces; more than

800 aircraft of the U.S. and South Korean Air Forces, including B-52 strategic bombers, U-2 and SR-71 reconnaissance aircraft, E-8 AWACS long-range radar detection and command and control aircraft; and several dozen fighting ships of the U.S. 7th Fleet and South Korean Naval Forces, including the aircraft carrier "Midway," surface ships, and multipurpose submarines equipped with "Tomahawk" long-range cruise missiles.

The exercise has once more demonstrated that conditions in this Far Eastern region remain tense. Despite KPDR proposals to reduce military activity here and to begin a withdrawal of American forces from South Korea, Seoul and Washington have not expressed a readiness to make concessions. And this hinders the establishment of an atmosphere of trust between South and North.

Current Leaders Share Blame for Afghanistan
18010596 Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 21 Apr 89 p 4

[Article by Colonel (Retired) M. Voronin, a participant in the Great Patriotic War: "Soldiers of the Fatherland"]

[Text] "Are we not writing and talking a lot about the Afghan Vets? The soldiers of the Fatherland survived a more terrifying war, however, we only think about them, the victors, on Victory Day..."

In answer to these words, I heard:

"But it seems to me that the boys who are Afghan Vets deserve even greater attention. Why? Well, because they are our pride and our hurt. That same mettle and that same courage is in their hearts that the soldier of the Great Patriotic War had in his."

The bell rang, inviting us into the assembly hall for the next seminar of the Minsk veterans society.

I half-listened to the lecture. Concentrating on what the speaker was saying interfered with the thoughts which were rushing into my head from the conversation I had overheard in the foyer. What was I thinking about, what did I have to compare and weigh, having placed my soldier's conscience on the scales? I had experienced war, as they say, on my own back, having plowed through the czarist fields in the Russian, Belorussian, and Baltic battle fields. There is no need to explain just what an infantryman is in war. Few came out of the attacks.

There were two dozen soldiers left in our rifle battalion after four attacks for penetrating and breaking through the enemy's defenses at the beginning of the Belorussian Offensive Operation in the summer of 1944 near the village of Semashkiy which is in the Vitebshchina. And here are the sad statistics: For every 100 soldiers who were the same age as me, only three returned from the war. And how many of our boys did not return from Afghanistan and how many became invalids? Now these numbers have become the property of glasnost. Of course, the war which our generation went through was not the same as the war in Afghanistan in its political goals and tasks, forms and methods of armed combat, and in its consequences. But soldiers were being killed and being maimed in the same way, for the bullets and shrapnel are the same—they are lethal.

Sometimes you can hear a conversation in a group of veterans that we, they say, fought for the Fatherland. But just what did the sons and grandsons of front-line soldiers fight for in Afghanistan?

This is what I can say, as I understand it, a soldier of the Great Patriotic War. The war with fascism raised the question of the life or death of the Soviet State. It entered history as the Patriotic War and the national war. But our soldiers also carried out the order of the Motherland and their military duty. But there is one "but" here. For nine years, the nation lived a peaceful life but its sons wore soldier's greatcoats and fought in a foreign land. And this could not be justified by any kind of slogan and our soldiers, having undergone the test of fire in Afghanistan, are internally protesting the lack of sensitivity toward them. I do not think you need to go far to find examples. There are enough of them in everyday life. Colonel L. K. Prashkovich, military commissar of the Minsk Soviet District, told me how he, a district military commissar, had to go to administrative offices and to higher authority over the course of a year to establish a monument to Private Igor Malyshev, decorated for courage and heroism with the Order of the Red Star and the medal "For Combat Service," who died in Afghanistan.

Soldier-internationalists often have to clash with real life and pierce the bureaucratic barriers of departments, institutions, and officials. They appeal to all higher headquarters with their complaints and write letters to the editors of newspapers and magazines. But is this the source of the opinion that much is being said and written about the Afghan Vets?

In the recent past, they wrote and said that we were not conducting a war in Afghanistan. But zinc coffins were being delivered to our native land and mothers cursed the Afghan tragedy and those who unleashed it. But this is what surprises me. I do not remember one session of the USSR Supreme Soviet during the last nine years in which a deputy's inquiry was made: In whose names are our sons dying in Afghanistan. There were no such inquiries! None of our soldiers are now in Afghanistan. This is a great victory for common sense. But where, when, and which state or national political figure has comprehensively analyzed the causes of the Afghan tragedy? There is no such analysis. Not one decrepit marshal made a decision about the "limited contingent." There was also an entourage of responsible officials including some who are thriving today.

These are the thoughts that rushed in under the impression of the conversation I inadvertently overheard among a group of war veterans. During the years of so-called stagnation, many unresolved issues accumulated in the nation. During the era of glasnost and democracy, they must be in full view of society. Among them is a question of national importance—concern about the defenders of all generations of the Soviet nation's socialist society.

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